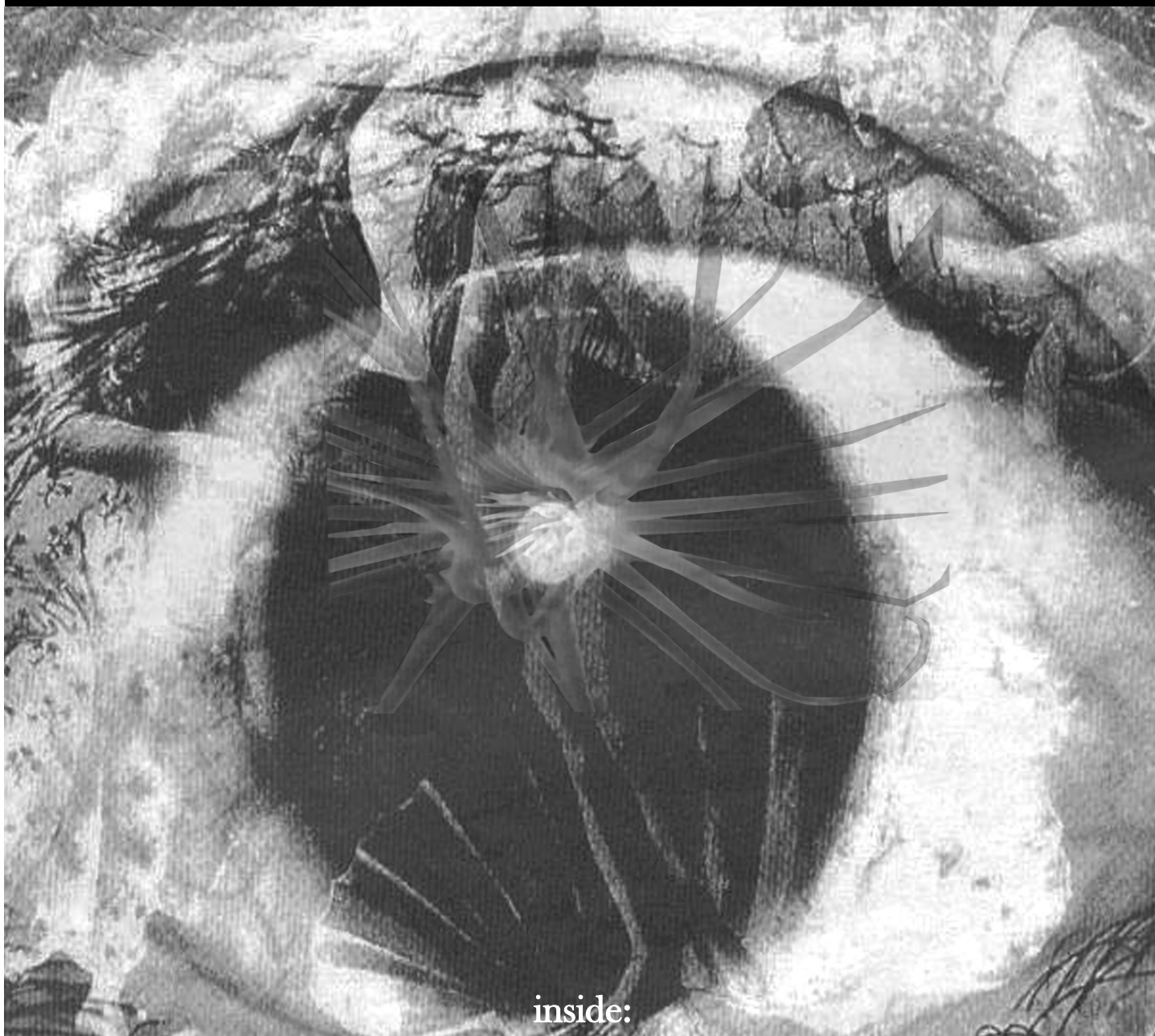


the defenestrator

FREE IN PHILLY !

a journal of refusal and optimism

issue 29 April 2004



inside:

* Timoney 3 acquitted * Homeless in Philly * Iraq Under Siege * Anti-Capitalists March
Against the Occupation * Local Anti-fascist imprisoned * Pro Choice or No Choice *
The Southern California Grocery Strike and Its Implications * Anarchism's Promise for Anti-
Capitalist Resistance * Flat Broke With Children * Latin American News * Labour Updates *



The defenestrator is Philly's sporadic newspaper for resistance, creative revolution and action. To defenestrate Power means total refusal of its tools and tentacles. Like the Hussites had their oppressors thrown down from the Prague castle into the angry mob below, the defenestrator wrestles power and privilege from its highest and most protected strongholds and casts the beast out of the window and down into the angry hands of the people.

Prison Staff! Caution ! Protected Private Property

This newspaper remains property of the sender unless it has been personally and materially accepted by the prisoner to whom it has been addressed. In the event that the prisoner is denied direct access to this publication, it must be returned to the sender with notice of reasons for failing to deliver to addressee.

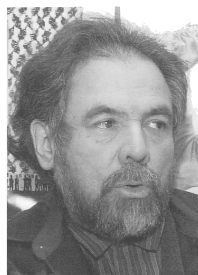
Distribute defenestrator outside of Philly!

The defenestrator is free in Philly. Outside of Philly, send \$2 per issue postage paid. If you care to distribute this fine paper, you can get 10 or more for 80 cents each. We ask you sell them for no more than \$1.50 a piece.

Get on the defenestrator email list!

We send out announcements for demonstrations, emergency mobilizations, benefit parties and defenestrator events. If you want on, send a blank email from your address to defenestrator-subscribe@lists.riseup.net or click the link on our website. The list is low traffic (usually about 1 message a week) and easy to get off if you so choose.

the defenestrator
PO Box 30922
Philadelphia PA
19104 usa
rosa@defenestrator.org
www.defenestrator.org



Judge Orders Release of Detained Palestinian Farouk Abdel-Muhti

from phillyimc.org

On Thursday, April 8, New York Federal District judge Yvette Kane gave the government 10 days to release Abdel-Muhti, whom immigration authorities have held in prison for nearly two years while they claimed to be arranging his deportation. But instead, the US government has moved well-known New York-based Palestinian activist Farouk Abdel-Muhti to the federal penitentiary in Atlanta, Georgia--more than 800 miles from his family, friends and legal team--and is holding him there virtually incommunicado. Three days before Kane issued her decision, Abdel-Muhti's supporters and lawyers suddenly lost contact with him. It wasn't until the afternoon of Friday, April 9, that Abdel-Muhti was finally allowed to make one five-minute phone call; he told his support committee he had been flown to Atlanta on Monday, April 5. Farouk Abdel-Muhti's legal team at the Center for Constitutional Rights argued in a March 30 hearing that, as a stateless Palestinian, he could never be deported back to the place of his birth in the West Bank, and the court agreed. After a 17-month-long wait for a hearing, the ruling issued with remarkable speed, just nine days after the court heard oral arguments in the case at the federal court in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. On the morning of Mar. 23 the authorities had moved Farouk to the Federal Detention Center in Philadelphia.

SUPPORT EDDIE AFRICA!

by dave onion

According to a string of alerts sent out by the MOVE Organization, Eddie Africa, political prisoner and one of the MOVE 9 was put under a 30 day cell restriction, apparently for violating prison policy on length of hair. His hair, though, was never in violation of prison rules, which state that hair can not be below the collar, and that afros can't be taller than 4 inches. Eddie doesn't have an afro: he wears his hair in locks and they are above his collar. At a March 29th hearing Eddie showed his hair was within prison guidelines, but was told there needed to be a repeat hearing on Wednesday because "one of the other officials was pushing the issue". After the Wednesday hearing he was ordered to cut his hair and put on cell restriction despite there being no evidence of any violation.



From a MOVE release: "People must understand that this is just a weak excuse to try to hide the continued prejudice and religious persecution of MOVE by this system. There are many people in SCI-Mahanoy, the same prison as Eddie, with long hair, braids and even dreadlocks. There are white men who wear their hair below their collar and many other people with dreadlocks. Wearing our hair in locks is a part of the religious belief of MOVE and no committed MOVE person will ever compromise their belief for the unjustifiable insanity of this system. These people have to be put in the position where they have to try to back up this biased, unfair persecution and when they can't, they better back up."

Eddie and seven others have been in prison since 1978 as a result of the Philadelphia PDs 1978 attack on their Powelton Village home. During the attack, police shot hundreds of rounds of ammo into their home, flooded their basement with water, nearly killing the children in the house and finally brutally beat MOVE members after they'd surrendered. During the attack, Officer Charles Ramp who was participating in the assault was shot and killed. Evidence suggests that Ramp was shot from behind, most probably from "friendly fire". After finding it impossible to determine who killed Ramp, nine MOVE members were sentenced to 30-100 years each in prison for the single killing after an overtly political trial. Merle Africa died in prison in 1998.

MOVE is asking people to call the prison and voice your support for Eddie and outrage over the attacks on him. Ask to speak to counselor Zaremba or Mr. Martin (570)773-2158. Be diligent and demanding!

FROM THE RED TO THE BLACK A BIG THANK YOU !!

Just before putting out the last issue, we put out a desperate call for funds for printing the issue. We were about \$400 short and at the last minute one of our collective members, by no means rich, lent the money to go to press. We didn't expect to raise all that within the week, but thanks to a good deal of you who donated generously we managed to drift back into the black. Considering how rarely we are blessed with praise or feedback for issues related to the paper, the success was also a morale boost for the collective to see folks step up and support the project like you did. A big big thank you from all of us!

However like our politics, our financial state has always vacillated between the red and black. In the seven years we've been publishing, collective members have shelled out thousands from our own pockets, often without expecting or ever getting it back. Keeping this paper running has always cost a lot. A brief rundown of what some of our more significant expenses look like per issue: printing runs us about \$490 per issue, we put down about \$20 to send the paper out to a handful of infoshops and other radical projects, sending the paper out free to prisoners runs approximately \$90 which Books Through Bars has been doing and paying for (thanks btw!!). We've got about \$10 a month in phone and DSL costs and still owe hundreds to the house where we previously had our office set up. To put out last issue one of the collective members had to shell out \$80 from his own pockets for a new hard disk to heal our computer. All this is after the usual mutual aid, theft and trashpicking which keeps underfunded folks like us going. Coming soon, adding to our current costs will be an additional \$100 per month as our part of the costs of keeping the LAVA space operational, the building where we have our office, for which we'll be in some way responsible. Adding unpredictable miscellaneous costs that always seem to come up, we're looking at a cool \$750 per issue that we need to come up with to keep operating. For us it's a constant struggle to keep this coming in to keep publishing.

So the appeal still holds. Please consider keeping this project afloat! Just some examples of ways in which we could use financial help:

- * throw a benefit for us... like a house party or a rave at the a-space
- * give us cash or write us a check! make it out to the defenestrator
- * send us an electronically mediated gift! made easy by clicking the donate button on the website (defenestrator.org)
- * advertise with us! our ad rates are cheap at \$2.15 per square inch. (you can download an ad rate sheet at defenestrator.org/ads .

> rest of list deleted due to legal reasons <

solidarity,

the defenestrator collective

TIMONEY 3 AQUITTED!

this
is
not
the
real
article



Temple University Students Rally against Racist Policies

By Bronwyn Lepore

On Sunday, March 28th, a critical mass of energized Temple University students rallied at the university's Bell Tower in North Philadelphia at 9:30 am before embarking on a long and boisterous march through Center City, Philadelphia to highlight their dispute with school officials over minority enrollment and representation. Marchers blocked several intersections along Broad Street and lay down in the streets near City Hall to protest the racism at Temple. The march continued to the Rittenhouse Square residence of Temple U. President David Adamany, who has refused requests for face-to-face meetings with students, to demand justice. Loud bullhorn speeches and raised placards startled Rittenhouse residents and park strollers into learning about the issues important to students who have felt the brunt of increased tuition, program cuts, and an administration actively recruiting wealthier white suburban, mostly male, youth. Student-made flyers offered charts depicting the ethnic and racial distribution of new freshman and transfer students to show "the percent of the total number of students admitted from 1998 to 2003 increased by 47% yet the percent of Black, Asian and Latino students declined." (from flyer, see astro.temple/~geller/rally). Students are additionally concerned about the low representation of minorities among college staff and demand increased and equitable representation. Overall a powerful turnout and day for students who I suspect we'll be hearing and seeing more from in the near future!

Homeless in Philadelphia

By Kalimero

Ms. Veronica was four years old when she moved into her home on the 1800 block of 8th Street in North Philly, in 1949. Last summer she received a letter from the city stating that her house would be taken away through an Eminent Domain order. Like her, many other families throughout the city received these letters, sometimes by mistake. The city offered her \$12,000 as compensation for taking her house, she refused the offer. Her house is to be demolished as part of the Neighborhood Transformation Initiative (NTI) started by Mayor Street, which is supposed to revitalize communities through the removal of blight.

As part of NTI the city will be spending \$132 million over the next five years to demolish 9,000 houses, many of which are still occupied. That's why Ms. Veronica joined CLI, the Community Leadership Institute, lead by life-long activist Rosemary Cubas and others who are fighting to save their homes and stop Eminent Domain abuses. Unfortunately, Eminent Domain is not the only flaw in the housing policies of the current administration: another example is the tiny amount of money (less than 6% of the City's Office of Housing Budget) dedicated to the creation of permanent affordable rental housing for households living on less than \$20,000 a year. To say it in other words, for people that live in "poverty." The crisis is widespread. One in every five families are paying more than a third of their income in rent.

This lack of affordable housing forces many families to double and triple up in overcrowded housing or to live in homes with substantial plumbing, heating, electrical and structural problems in order not to end up homeless. A tenth of the city's households live with these physical problems and almost a third of the total of all Philadelphia households live in homes with open housing code violations.

The "City of Brotherly Love" also has a bad record distributing the Section 8 vouchers (rent subsidies given out to poor families) that the city is granted by the federal government. Federal auditors concluded in a review released last September that the Philadelphia Housing Authority failed to provide rent subsidies to 3,200 families because its operations were inefficient and the agency had to return \$48 million dollars back to the Federal Government after failing to use the funds. This money could have kept many families from becoming homeless. While the city's shelter system "serves" 15,000 homeless persons each year, the demand is increasing. Unless this administration commits to ending the housing crisis, we will be seeing a lot more homelessness.

GET INVOLVED!

Not everyone is waiting for the city to solve their problems. People are organizing! Following is a list of organizations that are organizing around various housing issues:

Community Leadership Institute (215) 634-8450
Kensington Welfare Rights Union (215) 203- 1945
Disabled in Action (215) 627-7255
Tenant Action Group (215) 575-0700 x 266
Women's Community Revitalization Project (215) 5550p x228
New Jerusalem (215) 763-8806

IRAQ UNDER SIEGE: The Occupation and Responsibility

by Brownyn Lepore

"...a vast conspiracy of silence has spread all about us, a conspiracy accepted by those who are frightened and who rationalize their fears in order to hide from themselves, a conspiracy fostered by those whose interest it is to do so." Albert Camus, "Neither Victims nor Executioners," 1946

I attended a talk at the A-Space* by independent journalist Dahr Jamail, who is currently reporting on Iraq for The New Standard, a publication of PeoplesNetWorks - www.new-standardnews.net - on March 19th, and when I mentioned to a friend how horrified I was at the conditions in Iraq he presented (so different from anything I'd seen and read in mainstream media), he said that he didn't really feel that it was something that affected him, that he had his own problems to worry about and couldn't really be concerned about what's happening to the people there.

I mention this, because such a response also horrifies me (it reminded me, though of course my friend isn't in a powerful government position, of the response Colin Powell gave when asked about Iraqi casualties during the Gulf War that "It's not a number I'm terribly concerned with."); and what's most disturbing is that it's a fairly common response (he's certainly not the only friend, or colleague, or student I've heard say this) - even though most of us like to think of ourselves as "good," moral, caring people, and though the sentiment is arguably less awful than the "let's give Iraqis a bitch slapping" macho talk (a staff writer in the City Paper recently made this remark); undoubtedly, such passivity or lack of concern, or not sincerely or productively realized concern, though arguably understandable (for multiple reasons) is absolutely connected to the continuation of our government and military's behaviors in Iraq and elsewhere and needs to be challenged. I am an anarchist and therefore not keen on leaders, but Martin Luther King Jr. continues to be a moral inspiration for me, and I often think of his voice and his speeches and letters and responses to such passivity (and anyway, anarchism, at its best, has been/is the moral conscience of activism and social/political philosophy - refusing domination/hegemony/hierarchy, desiring both the liberation of singularity - multiple I's/voices - and the ethical glue of mutual aid in collective life). "This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off," King wrote in one of his final speeches, "or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism" "...the world is all messed up. The nation is sick. Trouble is in the land. Confusion all around." "We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly."

"Let us develop a kind of dangerous unselfishness," King encouraged the packed church in Memphis, Tennessee gathered in support of the striking sanitation workers, the day before

he was assassinated. He tells the story of the Good Samaritan (a story of mutual aid) reversing the strongly individualistic tendency in US culture of self-protectionism. King asks his listeners to overcome fear, to stop asking, "If I stop to help this man, what will happen to me?" but instead "If I do not stop to help this man, what will happen to him?" (Human solidarity and collectivism). We in the US (and many are involved already in anti-occupation activism and should be credited for their efforts), but not nearly enough to raise a loud enough clamor, must not turn away from what is happening in Iraq (and connectedly in Israel/Palestine and elsewhere, around the globe): "What has happened? What is happening? What will continue to happen to them (the people of Iraq, as well as the U.S. and other soldiers wrongly stationed there) if we do not stop (even at some risk to ourselves) to offer our solidarity and aid?" are questions that must be asked and honestly answered.

"I couldn't just sit by and allow this travesty to occur" Jamail writes as to why he felt com-



pelled to go to Iraq: "without standing up for something. I grew weary of talking with people who were the self-appointed pundits, all knowing, and doing little or nothing. So I asked myself, 'What can I do? What is it that I can do that might help?'" What he decided was that he could leave his home in Alaska and go to Iraq and see for himself and write and witness and share his uncensored reporting with others. We can't all go to Iraq, but each of us can, should and must do something, because what is happening in Iraq is horrible, and what is happening in the US is horrible, (to jobs and to the environment and to the millions incarcerated under our unjust and inhumane prison system, and to civil liberties and to immigrants), and these things are interconnected, and this is not a time for silence. And I am most troubled by liberal/progressive people I know, who complain in the halls at work, and in bars and over coffee, that "yes, isn't it horrible, what our government's doing, and, oh, what a travesty, but I'm too busy at work, or with my kids, or shopping, or whatever, to care really (in a way that matters), or to get involved, in actually creating change."

So what is happening in Iraq? Over a million lives were lost during the 90's because of the

brutal sanctions imposed (mainly by the US) on ordinary Iraqis. This following the hundreds of thousands of lives lost during the Gulf War. The entire country, which once had one of the finest educational and healthcare

systems in the Middle East, was devastated during the Gulf War, and further destroyed during the recent war: schools, museums, factories, supermarkets, bombed and sitting empty. "As we get deeper into the city," Jamail writes, entering Baghdad "bombed out buildings abound. Hussein [his driver] points out a severely damaged and crumbling building that was a television station, whilst two huge tanks roll down the street to our left...the devastation... is heartbreaking...apartment buildings, a theatre, a shopping area..." Why bomb all of this? So it can be rebuilt, not by Iraqis, but by private multinational corporations who are greedily staking their claims.

Order 39: Foreign Investment (implemented by the CPA - Coalition Provisional Authority - under the Bush administration) allows the privatization of state-owned enterprises, 100% foreign ownership of businesses in all sectors except oil and mineral extraction, unrestricted, tax-free (so Iraqis will not benefit at all from private corporations using their land, their resources) remittance of all funds associated with the investment and 40-year, optional renewal of ownership licenses. So the first reason I tell my friend he should care is that 51% of his tax dollars are basically going towards the US military's guarding the "rights" of multinational corporations to make big bucks (in Iraq and elsewhere) that neither we nor the people of Iraq will profit from in any way shape or form.

Mainstream media (with the support, of course, of the govt./military and its embedded reporters) is responsible for promoting many myths about what's happening in Iraq now. They defy logic, but that's how myths work, and despite some general distrust of mainstream media, such myths are effective, rationalizing death. Here are just two: Myth 1 is that we liberated the people of Iraq, and that therefore, no matter how much information comes out about the pre-planning of this war, the myriad lies told to manipulate the people of the US (though really we partly have ourselves to blame for believing, being so easily manipulated by such illogical propaganda, provided by a bunch of greedy wackos), the 16, 000 or more Iraqi lives lost during the war

(I include Iraqi soldiers in this count as they were also human beings), the looting of artifacts and destruction of important cultural and historical sites, the continuing deaths and dismemberment caused by landmines and cluster

Mainstream media (with the support, of course, of the govt./military and its embedded reporters) is responsible for promoting many myths about what's happening in Iraq now.

bombs, the loss of US lives, the mental and physical damage suffered by our troops, the detainment of tens of thousands of Iraqis in prison camps, etc., etc.; it was/is all well and good and necessary, because, after all the people of Iraq are just a backwards bunch anyway, and now they can have "democracy" and free market capitalism just like us. I am not exaggerating here either, having heard such views parroted (by normally intelligent people) many times. What Jamail discovered was that though many (not all) Iraqis are glad to have Hussein out of business "100% of the people I spoke with in areas South of Baghdad, say their living conditions are worse now than when Saddam was in power." Myth 2, which I hear often from students (a myth perpetuated in indoctrinary grade, junior and high school textbooks that the US is a big helper nation) is that we are doing all this great stuff for Iraqis - universal healthcare, new schools, jobs, etc.; you know, getting them up to spunk with us more "civilized" types - instead of for people here (the myth is pretty widespread, with many believing that the US is really in the role of the big helper, handout nation; that we "give" tons of money to other countries, when really foreign aid accounts for less than 2% of the national budget and is often sent to help buy guns to take care of "rebel" dissidents). It's a myth, as I'm sure our government knows, designed to create animosity towards those distant "others." And it works. Taking attention away from how both the Iraqi people and we are getting screwed by the same chumps in power.

Though 20 years ago most people in Baghdad had regular employment, unemployment in Iraq is now 70%; in some places higher. For Iraqis lucky enough to find employment wages are very low - about 60 US dollars a month - and they must often work overtime, 11-13 hour days, though there is no overtime pay. Not a penny of the 87 million earmarked for Iraq's "reconstruction" is going towards Iraqi wages or unemployment benefits. Coalition forces control finance and wages, further adding to the many daily indignities Iraqis are already suffering: checkpoints, tanks in the streets, barb-wire surrounded villages, curfews, cultural disrespect, workers being shipped in from other countries because Iraqis are not to be trusted (in their own country). Inflation is out of control.

CONTINUED PAGE 12



by dave onion

It had been a long year since the US invasion and subsequent occupation of Iraq. Much of what had made up the anti-war movement in the time leading up to March 20th last year had quickly trickled away either in defeat and hopelessness or to other seemingly futile pursuits such as electoral activism. Having to read daily reports of homes invaded and demolished, impromptu executions by US troops, demonstrators shot etc. amid the relative vacuum of resistance had many anti-capitalist activists wondering if we as a movement had in effect resigned ourselves and our Iraqi comrades to this. Was this a fight we'd given up on? A small feeder march had been organized by some anarchists and anti-capitalists in hopes of creating some political space to express an anti-capitalist critique of wars as well as the chance to be able to take the streets in a way not confined by the constraints of the larger coalition organizing the main march.

So it was a nice surprise to watch people gather for the anti-capitalist contingent on March 20th in Rittenhouse Park. When a friend and I arrived with a small bicycle propelled sound system, a crew were practicing their drums while some Pagans had just started a ritual to start off the march. Others filtered in including a crew of anti-racist skinheads, Food Not Bombs, some predictably enthusiastic (to be diplomatic) radical cheerleaders, the Stick and Stones drumming crew as well as other miscellaneous affinity grouplets. Compared to the tradition of anarchist / anti-capitalist feeders and contingents in Philly, Saturday's mob seemed bigger and contained a good number of faces I don't recall ever seeing before. Young people, people with energy, people not apparently jaded, cynical or burnt out. I looked around and despite radical cheerleaders flaunting their glee, I was momentarily inspired. We are regenerating and renewing. Spring had come after a year of political winter.

The march took off down 15th St. and wound its way through center city slowly, but energetically toward Broad and Spring Garden where the main march was gathering. To be

honest, for a small march as we were, we had a lot of energy. Leaving Rittenhouse, we were hard to ignore, with 2 small PAs, about 2 dozen drummers and a mob some 250 strong that generously filled the street. A flyer explained why we were there (because we're against capitalism and the wars it creates), Food Not Bombs handed out free sandwiches with their own flyers to passerbys and a veritable ruckus filled center city. As if in a beautiful dream, there were neither uniformed cops nor civil affairs visible. It later turned out the Phila PD had priorities in South Philly where a biker gang was partying on another MC's turf. The pig free zone was one thing new to a potential corporation sacrificing rampage we're not accustomed to. Spray paint perforated our path as we went. We slowed down to decorate the INS HQ on Callowhill St. and then moved on towards the main march, behaving only too well considering...

The plan had been to arrive at the main march at the end of the rally or even join the crowd once folks started moving. But somehow we arrived at the main march earlier than some of us who'd helped organize the feeder expected. Up in front of the feeder, a loud "Class War!" chant came wafting to the rear of the march where I

was, and in contrast, the assembled crowd already looked dreary and a bit disturbed upon seeing us arrive (though a number of people came up to me and made the point that that energy was exactly what the demo needed). I stopped to turn off the PA while the rest of our contingent marched straight past the sound truck to where the procession was about to start. It was around then I started to think something is not quite right.

Sometime in the early 90s, a friend had complained to me about how the RCP (Revolutionary Communist Party) would march to the front of demonstrations in some US city with their red flags, giving the impression they were leading the charge of the proletariat masses, while they'd just shown up and walked in front of a demonstration organized by a bigger coalition. That memory flashed through my mind for a second but I blew it off.

The main march was bigger than many had

expected. It certainly came as a surprise to organizers who had been overworked and had serious trouble getting organizational support from the endorsing organizations let alone the anti-war movement of a year ago. Most estimates seemed to average around 2500, though police weirdly enough gauged the crowd at 5000. Police had also issued a permit even though they hadn't even been approached for one. We stuck with the main march until the closing rally. At which point a hundred or so mostly anti-caps spontaneously broke off with the Sticks and Stones drummers for another small march through the city, finally ending up back at Rittenhouse Park.

All in all the march and the anti-capitalist contingent, the consensus suggests, were a success. The anti-war movement it seems was not entirely smothered by electoral aspirations or defeatism. We were a veritable force on the street still. Also considering another anti-war event went

down in the suburbs as well as thousands of commuting Philadelphians helping account for NYC's numbers (some reports say 100,000 protested the occupation there). Still some of the fallout from the march, I feel is worth mentioning: An incident occurred during which a small group within the anti-capitalist contingent made a point of refusing to move when the sound truck from the main march was trying to move to the front, apparently saying something to the effect of "hey we're having fun, unlike you" and then ignoring people who were attempting to get the sound truck to the front. Of course it was just a handful of individuals from the contingent, but it did reflect an attitude that was present on what our role in the march would be. From talking to various folks since the march, it seems many considered the demo to be an ANSWER (Act Now To Stop War and End Racism) event. ANSWER has been accused of attempting to gain hegemony of the anti-war movement in the past few years and certainly being led by Workers World party folks has political motivations which run counter to those of most anti-authoritarians. That said, the March 20th Coalition, who pulled together the main march was not that. It was a coalition of a number of groups and individuals

more or less spanning the political spectrum opposed to the war: anarchists, leninists, liberals, democrats, stalinists and people who don't identify as any of these. It was not an ANSWER event (though it was incorrectly listed as one in last issue). Though activists from ANSWER were involved, there was a concerted effort on the part of various folks in the coalition to keep the politics and tone of the demonstration tied strictly to the painstaking consensus of the coalition and not give ANSWER any appearance of any sort of place as the Coalition. We made the effort to be heterogeneous and democratic. Though some-



times the headache involved in negotiating ones way through bigger coalitions, there is, I feel an obligation for anarchists and revolutionaries who believe in broader social transformation to engage in larger struggles in a way that engages others (both on the street and as activists). If anything our auto-isolation needs to be something we step out of.

Another criticism of the feeder march would also have to be that although we intended to give a distinct voice to an anti-capitalist perspective, politics felt remarkably absent from the march. Granted there were banners, fliers etc. but the march also had a tone which sometimes felt more like a party than an expression of political rage. I had heard Dahr Jamal, an independent journalist who'd just returned from Iraq speak the night before the march, relaying vivid painful stories and showing pictures of massacres of Iraqis by US troops, of Iraqis tortured during raids on their houses by their colonizers and other pieces of a society shattered and crushed by this war. With these images fresh in my mind, the tone of the march seemed oblivious to what we were there for. I'm by no means arguing for humorlessness or for being "more hardcore".

CONTINUED PAGE 15

DOWN BY LAW

interview with local anarchist and anti-fascist activist Tim Fasnacht, currently doing 3 months in a York prison

By Jack Diddle

I recently sat down and spoke with Tim Fasnacht, who's being held at the York County Prison on charges stemming from a January 12, 2002 visit by various neo-nazi groups. He's serving a 90 day bid for disorderly conduct. Tim's a member of the Anarchist Black Cross Federation (ABCF) and Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). He was the only antifascist to do any real time from this incident.

Why were you in York on 1/12/02 and why do you feel its important to oppose public fascist rallies like this one?

TIM: I was in York on 1/12/02 to oppose Matt Hale and the World Church of the Creator, who was speaking at York Public Library. Having grown up in nearby Lancaster I felt it important to be there to support the people in York in their opposition to racism/fascism. I feel its crucial for antifascists to go wherever white supremacists hold public rallies, whether to physically shut them down or at least to cause as much disruption or harassment as possible. Fascists should never have a moment's peace or an inch of free space to spread their filth. If they go unopposed, it increases their sense of security and gives them more opportunities to organize and recruit.

Tim, from what I've read and learned from speaking with you and others, the charges against you are completely bogus. The cops basically snatched you out of a group of people during the fighting, and pinned a case on you. They initially had tried to nail you with assaulting a police officer. Relate some of your experiences that day.

TIM: I wouldn't say my charges were completely bogus. There was a lot of confusion that day. The pigs accused me of perpetrating an assault on an officer at a location where I wasn't present. I had no knowledge that the assault even occurred until days later. I was arrested after a Nazi skin from Baltimore, Rick Desper, in an attempt to escape from the antifascists, drove his truck into a crowd and struck a comrade from ARA, a cop, and a 12 year old african-american girl. In the ensuing chaos, the girl's aunt got into a verbal, then physical, confrontation with a state pig. I saw the cop assaulting the woman, choking her from behind. I tried to pull the pig off of her. I was immediately tackled to the ground and

cuffed. Afterwards, I learned that other militants had tried to intervene and unarrest me. While at the prison, the police approached me several times, asking why I was arrested. Obviously I said that I didn't know. They released me on a disorderly conduct/refusal to disperse citation. When we went to trial, they brought out a cop who claimed that I jumped onto his back and beat him about the head and neck while he was arresting a comrade in a location where I never was. Ironically, at my hearing and following appeals, the pigs could never find this person I supposedly "assault-

an example out of you?

TIM: I definitely think that the state, York DA and courts wanted to make an example out of us, hitting us with the maximum jail time and fines. They made it clear from the start that us "outside agitators" would pay for coming to York and kicking the fascists' asses. To them it was an embarrassment, but to the people of York and anti-fascist, it was a smashing success. Over the last few years, we've been seeing the state making examples by imposing stiffer sentences for anti-capitalist and antifascist militants. Look at the cases of Sherman Austin and Rob "Ruckus" Middaugh in California; Robert Thaxton, Free and Critter in the Northwest. As the resistance on the streets grows and intensifies, they want to make sure we know the consequences if we step beyond the "business as usual" passive protests.

Have you received a lot of support from your comrades and others?

TIM: Yeah, I've received some excellent support from comrades, both financially and morally. My long time comrades in the IWW, ABCF, NEFAC, and ARA have really shown what solidarity is all about. This support has really made this time in prison a lot easier!

How has this whole experience been so far at the prison? Has it been better or worse than what you expected? It must be strange, going from doing prisoner support to being on the other side of the bars.

TIM: So far my time here in prison has been relatively "easy". After a brief stint in processing, and then the maximum security block, I got sent to minimum security/work release housing. One of the perks of county jails is that you can get work release. I got hooked up with a job in nearby Lancaster, which gets me outside during the week, and makes the time definitely easier and go a lot faster. As to the second part of the question, having been

involved in PP/POW support for the last 10 years through my involvement with ABCF, it is somewhat ironic that I'm on the other side now, although being an anarchist, it should never be a surprise

when one lands in prison for resistance to the state and their fascist cohorts. As Ojore Lutalo has always said: "at some point, you have to honor your commitment to the struggle with a prison term."

ed" to testify. I appealed to the Superior Court in Harrisburg, but lost. So after two years of fighting it, I finally had to do the 90 days and pay \$300 in fines.

I know that you had a lot of problems with your case and your lawyers, and that it eventually, through a series of appeals, made its way to the Pa. Superior court.

TIM: There was some hassle with my lawyers in the fact that when we lost the appeal last November, I didn't learn of the decision until mid-January of this year. My York lawyer received notice, but assumed my primary lawyer would tell me. For some unknown reason, the court never notified him. I basically only had a couple of weeks to prepare before I reported to York County Prison.

Do you feel like the state was trying to make



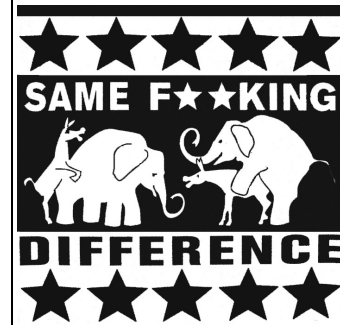
Don't call me white! Nazi skin proves he can get down while a near-by cop affectionately embraces an anti-racist activist in York



cops and nazis chillin together in York PA

The Democratic National Convention Watch July 26-July 29, Boston, Massachusetts

The BI(A)ck Tea Society, an ad-hoc coalition of Boston anti-authoritarians, are organizing the demonstrations against the Democratic National Convention (DNC) this summer in Boston. Check out their efforts on the web here: www.Blackteasociety.org Remember everyone, the Democrats are just Republicans in blue jeans! Honest!



Republican National Convention Watch RNC not welcome

The Republican National Committee has, for the first time in their 150 year history, selected New York for their Convention from August 29-September 4, 2004. In a shallow attempt at exploiting the lives lost at the World Trade Center, the RNC has pushed the Convention date to September. For all the details on the demonstrations planned to disrupt their party, check out www.rncnotwelcome.org, and www.counterconvention.org

And remember everyone, the Republicans are just more rich scumbags out to rule the world. Only if we let them get away with it!

*What do you feel is the state of antifascism in the U.S. today?
How has it changed since York I, and what do you feel we should focus on in 2004?*

TIM: The state of antifascism today in the US, from what I can see and read, seems to be in somewhat of a down period. I think after the victory at the Battle of York, its been hard to keep the momentum going. People come and go, which is typical for US activists, so as long as the core militants maintain a presence and tighten up on their skills, especially in the self defense area, we'll be OK for the future. In this post-911 repressive environment, we need to step up our

CONTINUED ON PAGE 15

PRO-CHOICE or NO CHOICE!

By Abbey Crash

Bush held true to his promise to cut reproductive rights for women. On March 25th, 2004 the Senate signed into law the so-called Unborn Victims of Violence Act (UVVA). This legislation might appear innocent at first glance, but there is no mistaking it as a blatant anti-choice strategy.

The law gives separate legal status to a fertilized egg, embryo, or fetus, even if the woman does not know she is pregnant. This undermines the 1973 Roe vs. Wade decision where the Supreme Court ruled that "the word 'person' as used in the Fourteenth Amendment does not include the unborn." It gives the fetus the same legal status as the adult woman who is actually the victim of the crime. It is being presented as a means of protecting pregnant women from domestic or street violence and a way to punish those that harm them. Interestingly enough, when the sponsors of the UVVA were offered the opportunity to vote

for an alternative bill that instead of recognizing the fetus as the victim, recognized the pregnant woman, they voted against it—even though the substitute bill had virtually the same identical criminal penalties for the perpetrator of the crime.

This detail makes their goal apparent— not to make the world safer for all women but rather to make women's bodies

vessels for protecting, foremost, the fetus. This has extremely frightening potential when viewed in the light of reproductive and, specifically, abortion rights.

By granting the fetus legal rights equal to and independent of those of the pregnant woman, Bush is preparing the stage for further laws

that will criminalize abortion. Indeed this is his second major anti-choice bill in only six months. On November 5th 2003 he signed a bill banning the so-called 'partial birth' abortion. The language of this law is so vague that it can apply to a range of abortions performed as early as 13 weeks into a pregnancy. Most incriminating is that the law lacks an exception to allow the procedure to protect a woman's health and future fertility. Other anti-choice actions by the Bush administration include: subpoenaing private medical records of thousands of women who've had abortions, nominating many anti-choice judges to lifetime seats on the federal bench—two of the most extreme of these judges were pushed past the Senate without a vote through recess appointments, re-imposing the global gag rule which bars U.S. aid to international family planning programs that provide abortion counseling, and promoting and funding abstinence-only education programs that censor information about contraception (not to mention completely ignore reality).

We must not allow this blatant attack on reproductive freedom to continue. We will not return to the days of back alley abortions. We must demand MORE reproductive accessibility/ affordability for all women—including women of color, youth, those with low or no income, queer and trans-gendered women, those who live in rural areas, rape survivors, the incarcerated, etc. WE WILL NOT SETTLE FOR LESS. On Sunday, APRIL 25th 2004 in D.C. There will be a MARCH FOR WOMEN'S LIVES. It's vital that all those who believe that a woman can make her own decisions regarding her reproductive health be at this march.



CHOICE • JUSTICE • ACCESS • HEALTH

MARCH FOR WOMEN'S LIVES

Washington DC April 25, 2004

ABORTION • GLOBAL • FAMILY PLANNING

10:00am: Assembly on Mall

The Southern California Grocery Strike and Its Implications

By John Leslie

The recent California grocery strike involved roughly 59,000 workers at 3 grocery chains. On October 11, the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) struck Vons and Pavilions stores (owned by Safeway). The next day, Ralph's (Kroger) and Albertson's locked out their workers. This strike was one of the largest in recent U.S. labor history and has far reaching implications for unions that want to organize in the service/retail sector. In spite of the fact that their stores were profitable, bosses demanded huge concessions from workers claiming these were necessary because of competition from nonunion Wal-Mart. The opening weeks of the strike were marked by strong picket line solidarity. UFCW members held the line with few co-workers crossing to go to work and the Teamsters honored union pickets at stores and distribution centers. Many customers also refused to shop in struck stores, further hurting the grocery bosses. The chains continued to operate with scabs replacing workers.

The strike was also supported by the southern California labor movement with unions raising money for the strike fund and turning members out for rallies. The International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) shut down a local port for a day to hold a mass rally at an Albertson's store. However, when the strike wasn't settled by Thanksgiving Day, Teamsters' President James Hoffa pressed the UFCW to take down picket lines. In some locales rank and filers refused to abandon their picket lines and union bureaucrats had to pressure them to comply. In early February, the union offered to submit to binding arbitration, but the employers refused, knowing that they had the upper hand. On February 11, the grocery bosses agreed to return to negotiations. In all of this, the UFCW bureaucracy showed its ineptitude and unwillingness to fight. In the weeks leading up to the strike they failed to prepare members for an extended walkout. Strike mobilization itself

was done by staff instead of a rank and file strike committee. Once the strike was on, they failed to adopt tactics which would shut down business as usual, such as mass picketing or spreading the strike beyond southern California. According to Bill Pearson, a past President of UFCW Local 789, "The companies' game is to destroy you, if you don't fight back with the same they will." (Labor Notes, March 2004)

The trade union bureaucracy is a social layer that mostly has its origins in the working class. In their climb up the union hierarchy, these officials develop interests which are different from those of their members. They are less interested in fighting the bosses than in finding compromises which preserve their power and control of the union. There's perhaps no better example than the President of UFCW Local 770, Rick Icaza, who, on top of his \$270,000 salary, is a multi-millionaire real estate speculator. You can bet he never bagged groceries or unloaded a truck. On February 28, only 17,000 out of 59,000 strikers voted to ratify a 3-year contract by a margin of 85 per cent. Union leaders tried to portray this contract as a victory for the union, but it's far from a victory for their members. Included in this contract are a two-tier wage structure (Two-Tier wages means that all newly hired workers will have lower wages and fewer benefits than existing workers), a weakened pension fund, a cap on employer contributions to health insurance costs and no raises for the life of the contract. Instead of raises, workers will get two \$500 payouts over the term of the contract. The cost of this strike goes way beyond lost wages and a lousy contract.

Many strikers lost families, homes and/or cars. Savings were depleted and many strikers had to send children to stay with relatives. There were at least 6 reported striker suicides. The southern California defeat and concessions will set a pattern on negotiations between grocery bosses and unions nationwide. The UFCW will be weakened as a result of the two-tier wage

system as a second-class layer of members is created. There will be a trend away from living-wage jobs with good benefits. It's not an exaggeration to say that the ability to make a career working in a grocery store will be gone in a few years. Grocery workers in other regions should expect the grocery giants to demand the same concessions from them as bosses attempt to increase their profits. The next targets of the concession drive will be the 50,000 grocery workers in northern California and 14,000 covered by the UFCW contract in Arizona. Both the Arizona and northern California contracts expire in the coming months. The UFCW contract in southeastern Pennsylvania is also set to run out in April of 2004 and local union staffers expect demands for concessions similar to those given in California. UFCW members and their supporters in the labor movement have to build a rank-and-file based movement which fights for union democracy and against sell-out contracts. Such a network would work to organize the unorganized and lead the struggle for national health care and a living wage. Workers have to push the bureaucracy to fight and go around them if they won't. Looking back at labor history, we can see that workers have created new forms of organization when the old ones outlived their usefulness.

Perhaps the best example is the rise of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), which in the 1930s, broke with narrow craft unionism and organized hundreds of thousands of industrial workers into unions in a few years. Such a movement can grow out of rank and file struggles and would serve as a space where workers gain the experience and self-confidence to run their unions without bureaucrats and society without bosses.

John Leslie is a labor activist and a member of Solidarity, a socialist-feminist and anti racist organization.

the defenestrator

For many, a “new anarchism” seemed to have been birthed amid the cold rain and toxic fog that greeted the November 1999 World Trade Organization protest. Yet rather than the bastard child of an emergent social movement, this radical politics of resistance and reconstruction had been transforming itself for decades. Seattle’s direct action only succeeded in making it visible again. Anarchism, for its part, supplied a compelling praxis for this historical moment. And in so doing, it not only helped shape the present anti-capitalist movement; it also illuminated principles of freedom that could potentially displace the hegemony of representative democracy and capitalism.

From its nineteenth-century beginnings on, anarchism has always held out a set of ethical notions that it contends best approximates a free society. In the parlance of his period, Italian anarchist Errico Malatesta (1853-1932) long ago described anarchism as “a form of social life in which men live as brothers, where nobody is in a position to oppress or exploit anyone else, and in which all the means to achieve maximum moral and material development are available to everyone.” This pithy definition still captures anarchism’s overarching aims. Nevertheless, this libertarian form of socialism may well have been ahead of its day in advocating a world of transnational and multidimensional identities, in struggling for a qualitative humanism based on cooperation and differentiation. It is only in the context of globalization that anarchism may finally be able to speak to the times and thus peoples’ hopes. Whether it can fulfill its own aspirations remains to be seen.

The Vision Made Invisible

While the forms of organization and values advanced by anarchists can be found in embryo around the world in many different eras, anarchism’s debut as a distinct philosophy was in mid-nineteenth-century Europe. The English “philosopher of

By Cindy Milstein

several decades around a recognizable core of principles. Godwin’s political theory didn’t live up to the liberatory character of his cultural sentiments; and Proudhon should be roundly condemned on many fronts, from his failure to contend with capitalism’s inherent logic to his patriarchal and anti-Semitic beliefs. It would in fact take others, from the Russian aristocrat Peter Kropotkin (1842-1921) to the German Jewish intellectual Gustav Landauer (1870-1919) and many prominent as well as lesser-known radicals, to fill out a more pleasing portrait of classical anarchism: a utopian political philosophy decrying all forms of imposed authority or coercion.

As socialists, anarchists were particularly concerned with capitalism, which during the Industrial Revolution was causing suffering on a hitherto-unimaginable scale. Anarchists primarily pinned their hopes for transforming social relations on workers, utilizing economic categories ranging from class struggle to an end to private property. All those on the revolutionary Left agreed that capitalism couldn’t be reformed; it must instead be abolished. But unlike other socialists, anarchists felt that the state was just as complicit in enslaving humanity, and so one couldn’t employ statecraft—even in a transitional manner—to move from capitalism to socialism. A classless yet still statist society, anarchists argued, would still constitute a world marked for most by domination. As anarcho-syndicalist Rudolf Rocker proclaimed in 1938, “Socialism will be free, or it will not be at all.” For this reason and others, anarchism evolved out of socialism to indicate an opposition not just to capitalism but also states and other compulsory, inter-linked institutions, such as organized religion, mandatory schooling, militarism, and

marriage. Thus it is said of anarchism in the most general sense that “all anarchists are socialists, but not all socialists are anarchists.”

This statement could also be seen as relating to questions of strategy. Many socialists, at least the radical ones, were not adverse to the “withering away of the state,” it was just a matter of when and how. For anarchists, a “dictatorship of the proletariat” steering the state until it withered couldn’t be counted on to actually push that process along. Instead of top-down social organization, anarchists championed various types of horizontal models that could prefigure the good society in the present. That is, anarchists maintained that people could attempt to build the new world in the shell of the old through self-organization rather than passively waiting until some post-

Anarchism’s Promise

revolutionary period. Hence anarchism’s emphasis on praxis. Anarchist alternatives were grounded in such key concepts as voluntary association, personal and social freedom, confederated yet decentralized communities, equality of conditions, human solidarity, and spontaneity. As the European invention known as anarchism traveled via intellectual and agitator circuits to everywhere from the United States and China to Latin America and Africa, anarchists experimented with everything from communal living, federations, and free schools to workers’ councils, local currencies, and mutual aid societies.

tion to authoritarian, even terroristic tactics. The renewed anarchism that finally emerged was, in fact, a convergence of various postwar anti-authoritarian impulses. Though the libertarian sensibility of the 1960s and New Left is foundational, five phenomena are especially crucial to the praxis made (in)famous in Seattle.

First, there is the Situationist International (1962-1972), a small group of intellectuals and avant-garde artists who attempted to describe a changing capitalism. According to the Situationists, the alienation basic to capitalist production that Marx had observed now filled



“Live without dead time! Enjoy without obstacles”; situationist inspired graffiti in Paris May of 68

Anarchism was part of a fairly large internationalist Left from the 1880s through the Red Scare of the 1920s and Spanish Revolution of the 1930s. Then, discredited, disenchanted, or killed, anarchists seemed to disappear, and with them, the philosophy itself. After World War II and the defeat of Nazism, it appeared the two political choices were “democracy” (free market capitalism) or “communism” (state capitalism). Lost in this equation, among other things, was the questioning of authority and concurrent assertion of utopia posed by anarchism.

Reemergence as Convergence

The distant nineteenth-century is, of course, formative for anarchism’s reinvention. But the dilemmas and openings of that time—for instance, the rise of liberalism, colonialism, and industrial production—are far removed from those of the twenty-first century. Beyond this, classical anarchism leaves a lot to be desired: its naivete concerning human nature as basically good, say, or its aversion to any political replacement for statist governments. When anarchism began to be rediscovered in the 1950s by leftists searching for an alternative to orthodox marxism, it therefore tried hard to remake itself. Anarchist thinkers grappled with new concerns from conspicuous consumption to urbanization; new possibilities such as feminism and cultural liberation; and old ghosts of its own from a workerist orienta-

every crevice; people were alienated not only from the goods they produced but their own lives, their own desires. The commodity form had colonized the previously separate sphere of daily life. As SI Guy Debord quipped, modern capitalism forged “a society of the spectacle” or consumer society that promised satisfaction yet never delivered, with us as passive spectators. The Situationists advocated playful disruptions of the everyday, from media to cityscapes, in order to shatter the spectacle via imagination and replace drudgery with pleasure. During the May 1968 near-revolution in Paris, SI slogans as graffiti such as “Live without dead time! Enjoy without restraint” were ubiquitous. Ironically, even though the Situationists were critical of anarchists, anarchists lifted from the Situationists’ critique, especially the preoccupation with cultural alterations.

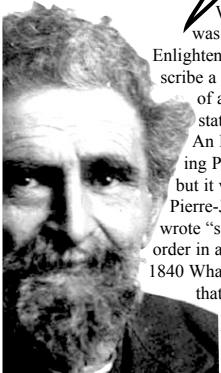
From the 1970s on, the interdisciplinary works of theorist Murray Bookchin also helped transform anarchism into a modern political philosophy. Bridging the Old and New Left, Bookchin did more than anyone to widen anarchism’s anti-capitalism/anti-statist to a critique of hierarchy per se. He also brought ecology as a concern to anarchism by connecting it to domination. As he put it, “The ecological crisis is a social crisis.” Bookchin emphasized the possibility nascent in the present of an ecological and post-scarcity society, in which the rational use of technology could free humanity to fulfill its potentiality in har-

Anarchy is a form of social life in which men live as brothers, where nobody is in a position to oppress or exploit anyone else, and in which all the means to achieve maximum moral and material development are available to everyone.

freedom”

William Godwin was the first

Enlightenment thinker to scribe a sustained theory of a society without states in his 1793 *An Inquiry concerning Political Justice*, but it wasn’t until Pierre-Joseph Proudhon wrote “society seeks order in anarchy” in his 1840 *What Is Property?* that the term “anarchism” slowly began to congeal over the next



for anti-capitalist resistance

mony with the natural world. Most significantly, he drew out the institutional replacement for the state hinted at in nineteenth-century anarchism: directly democratic self-government, or in his own language, libertarian municipalism. Bookchin's writings pointed to the city or neighborhood as the site of struggle, radicalization, dual power, and finally revolution, with confederations of free citizens' assemblies replacing state and capital. They also inspired a radical ecology movement, experiments in anarchist federations such as the Youth Greens, and a new generation of anarchist intellectuals.

Bookchin's unearthing of the affinity group model in his

to utilize militant confrontation both to defend their counterculture and take the offensive against what they saw as repressive, even fascist elements. The deployment of a masked black bloc—for one, at a 1988 demonstration in Berlin during an International Monetary Fund/World Bank meeting—autonomous neighborhoods and “info-stores,” and street battles with police and neo-Nazis became emblematic of the Autonomien. Anarchists felt an affinity and imported the trappings of autonomous politics into their own, thereby linking and modifying the two in the process.

Last but not least, the dramatic 1 January 1994 appearance of the Zapatistas on the world stage to contest the

jungle encuentros, principled communiques and practical gains, and the attempt to reclaim popular power through autonomous municipalities was especially electrifying—the concurrent appeals to the Mexican state less so. Still, anarchists flocked to Chiapas to support this rebellion, carrying home lessons to apply to a global anti-capitalist movement that a refashioned anarchism would shortly help initiate.

More Than the Sum of Its Parts

Such strands of resistance, themselves pulling from earlier moments, are interwoven into the fabric of contemporary anarchism. From the Situationists, anarchism embraced the critique of alienation and consumer society, and faith in imagination; from

Like the Zapatistas, anarchists humbly understand themselves (at least in theory) as acting in concert with the multiple struggles for freedom waged over time by a variety of anti-authoritarians. Nonetheless, perhaps because they did it on the dominant superpower's own turf, anarchists were able to firmly establish a form of resistance that actually prefigures a joyful politics of, by, and for all the people of a globalizing humanity. And as such, to lay down the flexible contours of an empowering movement while unexpectedly elevating anarchism to its avant-garde.

This means that anarchism's principles along with its culture and forms of organi-

If you ask what we want, we will unashamedly answer: “To open a crack in history,”

research on the Spanish anarchists, sketched in his *Post-Scarcity Anarchism* (1971), was influential to the anti-nuclear movement of the 1970s and 1980s in the United States. Emerging from the rural counterculture in New England and then on the West Coast—a counterculture that included radical pacifists of both anarchist and religious persuasions—the anti-nuke movement used civil disobedience, but infused it with an anarchist and feminist sensibility: a rejection of all hierarchy, a preference for directly democratic process, a stress on spontaneity and creativity. Varying levels of nonviolent confrontation at nuclear power plants, from blockades to occupations, along with the use of pageantry, puppets, and jail solidarity were determined on in affinity groups and spokescouncils. Quaker activists, not anarchists, added consensus to the blend with mixed results (false unity, for instance). Notwithstanding the difficulty of moving beyond a single issue and what became an insular community, the tactics and organizational form of the U.S. as well as international anti-nuclear movement were soon picked up by the peace, women's, gay and lesbian, radical ecology, and anti-intervention movements.

Beginning in the 1980s, the West German Autonomien made a mark on anarchism as well. Viewing European New Leftists as discredited, though affected by their critique of authoritarianism on the Left (Soviet-style “communism”) and Right (“democratic” capitalism), the Autonomien rejected everything from the existing system to ideological labels, including that of anarchism. As a spontaneous, decentralized network of anti-authoritarian revolutionaries, they were autonomous from political parties and trade unions; they also attempted to be autonomous from structures and attitudes imposed from “outside.” This entailed a twofold strategy. First, to create liberated, communal free spaces such as squats in which to make their own lives. And second,

North American Free Trade Agreement keyed anarchists into the importance of globalization as a contemporary concern of often life-and-death proportions. A decade in the making through the grassroots efforts of some thirty indigenous communities in southern Mexico, and intentionally tied to struggles elsewhere, the uprising illustrated the power of solidarity. The Zapatistas' bold takeover of villages in Chiapas also re-ignited the notion that resistance was possible, in poor and rich regions alike. “If you ask what we want, we will unashamedly answer: ‘To open a crack in history,’” Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos declared. “We'll build another world. . . . Democracy! Freedom! Justice!” For anarchists, the Zapatistas' inventive blend of high-tech such as the Internet and low-tech such as



squat in East Berlin

Bookchin, the connection between anti-capitalism, direct democracy, ecology, and post-scarcity; from the anti-nuke movement, the stress on with affinity groups and spokescouncils as well as nonviolent direct action; from the Autonomien, militant confrontation, the black bloc strategy, and an expansive do-it-yourself emphasis; and from the Zapatistas, the power of the Internet, cross-cultural solidarity, and “globalization” for transnational resistance. But the anarchism that received notoriety in November 1999 is more than the sum of these parts. It is the only political philosophy today aspiring to balance a variety of social change agents and strategies—or ultimately, a “diversity of tactics,” visions, and people—with universalistic notions of participatory freedom outside all imposed institutions and behaviors.

For months before Seattle, anarchists worked diligently behind the scenes to set the tenor of the direct action that would stun the world. As the key initiators and organizers, even if not recognized as such, anarchists had been able to structure the demonstration along libertarian principles. Like numerous other direct actions shaped largely by anarchists, such as the 1970s' anti-nuke protests and 1989 Wall Street action, Seattle's too would have gone unremarked if not for its success in shutting down the WTO in tandem with a vicious police response. Anarchists and anarchism were suddenly thrust into the limelight. What had always been a minoritarian voice of conscience within the Left suddenly got a majoritarian public hearing. In turn, anarchism's philosophy became both cutting edge and normative for a powerful new global social movement.

This is not to say that anarchism or anarchists alone are responsible for the movement(s) contesting globalization's brutal side, that such a movement(s) started in Seattle, or even that the goal is to turn everyone into anarchists.

zation are, for the first time, at the forefront rather than margins of a transnational social movement. In the broadest sense, anarchism has brought a unique, inseparable bundle of qualities to this movement: an openly revolutionary stance, colored by an eminently ethical orientation, made out-of-the-ordinary by a playful though directly democratic utopianism.

The Anarchist Moment

But still, why anarchism?

Because anarchism has set the terms of the debate. Its emphasis on social revolution coupled with transparency has meant that anarchists haven't been afraid to name the concrete concern masked by the term “globalization”: that is, capitalist society. Once Seattle's type of direct action became a benchmark, though, anarchists received a tacit green light from most other activists to design similar protests, and so “carnivals against capitalism” became commonplace. For example, when people “converged” together at mass actions, they now did so under an anti-capitalist banner—one held up by anarchists, who compellingly carried it to the symbolic heart of each contestation. Since this made tangible what was most disturbing to many about globalization, numerous people were radicalized by or at least became sympathetic to a focus on the market economy. While still considered subversive, it has thus become more acceptable to speak of capitalism and even explicitly identify as an anti-capitalist. “Anti-capitalism,” however, now frequently implies an anti-authoritarian perspective. And vice versa, an anarchistic outlook now permeates anti-capitalist work.

But still, why now?

CONTINUED ON PAGE 12

Flat Broke With Children: Women in the Age of Welfare Reform

Sharon Hayes
Oxford University Press, 2003

The Working Poor: Invisible in America

David K. Shieler
Knopf, 2004

BOOK REVIEW

by Rafi Rom

David Schieler spent several years witnessing poverty in America, but nothing prepared him for his tour of a typical migrant labor camp in North Carolina, which he compared to "visiting a memorial at the scene of a crime." He saw men living together, isolated from society, at the mercy of their employers and an inhospitable government; he saw entire families invisible to the American public. He and his son, translating for him, were suffused with the same recollection, which we learned later by comparing notes: of another kind of camp where the greatest crime occurred. And then we apologized to ourselves for feeling the parallel, which of course was no parallel at all. No injustice that happened here approached what happened there. And yet the sensation of standing where something terrible had taken place was not dissimilar. Even in the emptiness, you were somehow a witness.

Sharon Hays and David Schieler have joined an endless number of authors who have published essays, reports, books, articles, and research papers on the state of poverty in America. Some analyze how many eligible poor people receive food stamps county by county. Others, like the two authors reviewed, synthesize all of this information to make a more sweeping point: American bureaucracy, private and public, constantly antagonizes both the working and non-working poor. There has been no lack of people "witnessing" the terrible trauma poor Americans are put through, such as degrading employment opportunities, segregated, sub-par schooling (as if the two don't already go hand in hand), and nightmarish housing standards. They are the victims of ruthless capitalist organizations, such as H&R Block, which exploit poor people for the little money they have via ridiculously high interest rates. The invisible poor are also more susceptible to medical problems like asthma or depression because of the lack of adequate treatment and overall awful living conditions. The infinite barriers poor people face operate as an open prison, trapping people within its endless web. As Schieler puts it, "working poverty is a constellation of difficulties that magnify one another."

Hays, a Professor at University of Virginia, focuses on the welfare system's treatment of women with children since Bill Clinton spearheaded the welfare reform effort in 1996. She interviewed hundreds of welfare "moms" and the result is a staggering, wide-reaching exam-

ination of this country's value system and how it affects the poor. She argues that the "work requirements" and "family values" goals of the welfare system are contradictory and punish poor women. In essence, the welfare state in this country simply imposes a set of government-regulated beliefs onto those who seek help. Poor women are expected to work, a lot, while raising children on their own with grossly inadequate assistance and a multitude of barriers. Many states, for instance, have instituted "family caps," which prohibits any welfare recipient from receiving more assistance if she has another child while on the dole. Bush's proposed welfare reform, expected to reach the senate early this year, is raising the current work requirement from 25 to 40 hours a week, while giving no additional money to childcare or other supportive services. Both Hays and Schieler offer ample evidence of why these demanding schedules are impossible for people whose "opportunities" are strictly low wage service jobs: McDonalds, Burger King, Wal-Mart. The employees are treated as expendable business expenses. As one Wal-Mart "team" manager explained to Schieler, if wages were raised "We'd have to cut corners on other things like, you know, we may not be able to put all the pretty balloons up all over the store."

The non-necessities we'd have to cut back on." Wal-Mart is under constant scrutiny for its employment practices. A recent NY Times article reported that Wal-Mart Employers were discouraged to use emergency exits even for true emergencies, and were made to work before and after clocking in and out. Yet all this scrutiny, all of these reports, don't seem to be the answer. Reform after reform after reform, where are we now?

I think these are the questions Hays and Schieler grapple with in their respective books. It's impossible to read these books without feeling at least a pang of defeat. Obviously things are so screwed up, the intentions of the government and the American people warped, that there is no recourse. Yet both of them choose to dwell on the alterna-

tives, all of which broadly fit under empowering poor people with the right to happiness. Both writers, in the end, see an even stronger, more encompassing state as the answer to these problems, a powerful but inherently problematic argument given how hard they dwell on its current pitfalls.

For instance, both writers talk about universalizing benefits programs such as medical assistance, so it will no longer have the scarlet letter of poverty attached to it. "As it is true in many Western European nations where more family friendly, income-equalizing policies are already in place, many of these programs should operate as universal programs, available to all people and all levels of the class system. No one need think of them as 'charity' or 'handouts' to the unworthy."

This is probably good point to mention that at my day job I help people get food stamps, medical, and cash assistance, which puts me in a position to agree wholeheartedly with this wishful thinking. The current state of affairs requires recipients of welfare benefits to suffer an unnecessary level of defeat before becoming eligible for benefits. On top of that, during the application process, those in need are subjected to an often hostile bureaucracy that further enforces the impression that they are simply leeches of the American system. Confidentiality rules prohibit me from going into any specifics about how strong-willed and good-hearted people I have met have been constantly mistreated by various government functionaries and employers, but that's ok,

other undocumented workers in this country, are invisible to the American public they serve and the bureaucracy they pay Federal and State taxes to (via black market social security numbers). Yet they live in constant terror from being "discovered" by the INS and subsequently deported back to Mexico.

This is where the heart of the matter lies. Undocumented workers are invisible, and well-planned, terroristic government policies that keep them that way. Enough undocumented workers are deported to scare the rest of them into quiet submission. They are constantly referred to as "illegal," a widely accepted but revolting label that smacks of slavery. Less than two hundred years ago black people were considered one-third of a normal white person by census rules. Now, as Schieler cannily points out, Pedro and his compadres don't even exist. They have no access to any of the rights afforded to others that live in this country, even though they are an important element of the labor force in this country. There is a clear demand for cheap labor in the agriculture, garment, and service industries, and so the government tacitly allows "illegals" to live off the fat of the American land in exchange for go-nowhere jobs and isolated lives in a foreign, hostile country.

Hays' study of another disenfranchised segment of the American population—poor, single moms, with little education and support networks—further reinforces the insidious relationship between values and labor demand. She spent most of her time interviewing welfare recipients from two "typical" welfare offices, renamed "Sunbelt City" and "Arbordale" to protect the privacy of those involved (this also has the intended or unintended consequence of reinforcing her belief that this is a nationwide problem). Hays likens the "model used to train low-income mothers" to Pavlov's theory of "conditional reflex," first observed in the behavior of drooling dogs, as "a system of rewards for proper behavior and punishments for improper behavior [meant to] teach people to behave in the desired way."

Just like the presence of undocumented workers in this country mirrors the demand for cheap labor, the ever-shifting world of welfare rules and regulations are dictated by the needs of the market. Hays writes, "There is also a real danger that the more valuable versions of the principles of independence and citizenship have been debased by this process, transformed into a demand for a new form of wage slavery, where the lives of welfare mothers and their children are treated as worth far less than those of the American middle class." The women Hays' spent time with are flung from one skill-less job to another, while dealing with non-stop obstacles, such as lack of transportation, inadequate health coverage, and punitive "sanctions" by welfare caseworkers. In the end, to put it for more bluntly and less eloquently than the authors reviewed in this arti-

CONTINUED PAGE 15



because in their respective books Hays and Schieler offer plenty of anecdotal evidence to back up their condemnations of how poor people are abused in this country. And we're not just talking about the fact that low-income people are subjected to a lesser standard of customer service than other, better-off folk, but are also the brunt of ideological experimentation and work place exploitation at a grand scale.

Let's go back to Schieler's description of migrant labor camps. At Burch Farms in North Carolina, he was introduced to Pedro, a 25 year old Mexican, who like most of his colleagues, sent most of his wages back to his family in Mexico. Although it was census season, all Pedro knew was that it was time to harvest sweet potatoes. He, like the scores of

OIL & Venezuela

by Calimero

Venezuela has one of the largest oil reserves in the hemisphere, and herein lies the US' interest in dominating the region. What we have witnessed in Venezuela is nothing new – it is simply the continuation of a long history of imperialism and economic domination on the part of the country which created the Monroe Doctrine. It claimed Latin America for the US and all of its natural and human resources where as well claimed for the most powerful countries on the continent.

President Chavez, a soldier by profession, democratically elected, has – however – proven to be an obstacle to the United States. More so than Aristide in Haiti, for instance.

The danger in Chavez lies with his military training and his ties in the Venezuelan army, as well as the popular support which put him in power. The people of Venezuela identify more with Chavez, of indigenous heritage, than they do with the Venezuelan elite who consider themselves of European descent and share the interests of the United States.

Chavez has demonstrated his military ability, having withstood an attempted coup sponsored by Venezuelan businessman Pedro Carmano and financed from overseas. Meanwhile, he has confronted an opposition who have always controlled the country's media and have tried to ruin the economy by means of lockouts and sabotage, with disastrous results for the business class.

For the moment, the opposition, through its "Democratic Coordination" are attempting to push through a recall referendum which would force Chavez to relinquish the title of president and return to the polls to vie for reelection.

At present the said initiative is still being tied up in court. Venezuela's congress(?) have thrown out 800,000 of the nearly two and a half million which were required to bring the recall to a vote. Meanwhile, the congress extended by 48 hours the session during which it would propose candidates for regional elections on August 1. During these elections 23 state governors, 337 mayors and more than 200 members of local legislative committees will be chosen.

The opposition, setting aside past differences, has decided to participate fully in the electoral process, running whatever candidates are most staunchly anti-Chavez, and who will push the recall forward. Chavez supporters as well have been immersed in the selection of candidates for the upcoming elections, at a time when the opposition controls nearly half of the elected posts in the country. The Chavistas see the elections as an opportunity to show their political muscle and popular support.

What we are seeing in Venezuela is the polarization of a society into two groups: the majority who are indigenous or mestizo, support Chavez, and have flooded the streets to protest US intervention, and a wealthy minority who stand to gain by supporting the economic interests of the rich countries. The protests become street battles between the various factions, and to date there have been some deaths attributed to military and police repression. In the streets a war is being fought which, without a doubt, Chavez supporters are winning, in the media a different war is being fought. One in which the opposition can count on all the resources they need to carry out an effective propaganda campaign against Chavez.

Amidst the confusion one thing remains clear: the intervention by the government of the United States is taking place on such a level, and with such cynicism, that the President has threatened Venezuela with economic and political destabilization – a lesson learned during the overthrow of the socialist president Salvador Allende in Chile in the 70s. An embargo against the state oil company has also been threatened, and even John Kerry has expressed his discontent with the Chavez government. At the same time, Venezuelan security forces have intercepted a communication in which the opposition suggests the application of a document written at the Organization of American States (OAS) which lays out plans for a military invasion of Venezuela by rapid deployment forces from the US. At this Chavez threatened to suspend shipments of crude oil to the US, and to impose a trade ban on all US goods.

The Venezuelan people have clearly shown their desire for sovereignty and manifested their right to elect a representative who suits them. This freedom should be respected – at all times, in all places. This has always been the clamor of the people throughout Latin America, be it Bolivia, Haiti or Chile.

According to Chavez, the US is not a model of democracy: "Mr. Bush occupies the White House as the product of an electoral fraud perpetrated against the people of the United States. He is not even a legitimate president: he stole the election."

The least that the United States owes to Latin America is respect.

Uruguay

by UruYorker

This incoming October Uruguay will hold its national and legislative elections. The only doubt about the outcome is whether the leftist the *Frente Amplio*, or Broad Coalition, will get the majority it needs in the first round of elections in October or in the second round in December. *Frente Amplio* (Broad Coalition), a leftist coalition that includes, among others, Socialists, Social democrats, independents leftists, recycled former MLN (National Liberation Movement) members of the National Liberation Movement, a guerrilla group from the 1960s, from the urban guerrilla of the 60's in Uruguay – actually (the currently the largest party in the coalition-), and the communist party. among others, will get the majority it needs in the first round of elections in October or in the second round in December.

This result –if it materializes– is not the outcome of sudden popular disenchantment with the traditional ruling parties and their neoliberal agendas. Unlike Argentina, where a populist and progressive President was elected after the collapse of the Argentinean social fabrique under the attack of neoliberalism, the Uruguayan left has older and deeper historical traditions. The *Frente Amplio* was founded in 1971 as a liberal alternative to the rule of the *White* and *Colorado* parties, which ruled who had been ruling the country unchallenged since 1850, unchallenged.

The US-backed military coup of 1973 with the backing of US, aimed to stop the advancement of progressive forces in the country and to impose neoliberal policies in the oldest and most successful Welfare State of South America. Political repression during the 11 years of military coup could not erase the *Frente Amplio*'s standing, which emerged victorious in the elections of 1985, even though its main political leaders were with their main political leaders banished from the electoral ballots. Then, the *Frente Amplio* succeeded in capturing almost one one-third of the total vote, and was particularly successful in its largest victory in the main city and capital, Montevideo.

Five years later, *Frente Amplio*'s widespread support paid off when they showed that the accumulations of forces made during all these years paid off when the coalition landed its candidate as mayor of Montevideo. In the last round of elections in 1998, *Frente Amplio* renewed its mandate in Montevideo after winning almost half of the votes cast, and also came confirmed the validity of the coalition in Montevideo renewing the mandate with almost half of the votes but also came very close to winning the Presidency presidency after a very disputed electoral second round runoff.

This time the government of the country won't slip away. The growth of the "Broad coalition Coalition" results from a history of political organization, commitment, sacrifice and even heroism during an extended period of time. It also coincided with the implementation of neoliberal policies that started taking shape around the formation of the coalition and deepened unchallenged during the military dictatorship in the 1970s and 1980s. The subsequent governments tried to keep furthering further the neoliberal policies implemented during the previous regime with limited success.

Many decades of neoliberal governments left the country in socio-economic conditions that look very, very far away of different from the now mythical welfare state we proudly erected during the first part of the XX twentieth century. Living conditions now today are worst than ever worse than before, and more like the rest of the more closely resemble other countries across Latin America continent and most of the developing world.

There is clearly a clear relationship between the application of the neoliberal model policies and the decay of political support of for the ruling parties, and with the accompanying growth of the organized left. It should be no surprise that the better best chances offer the *Frente Amplio* to take power came after the worst economic crisis in the country since our independence in the XIX century.

You might be thinking, "Ggood! Another neoliberal regime down in Latin America and another progressive on its place. Nice match with Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile and hopefully others to come. But, what's in there for us, here, in America?" More than you think. The debacle of the neoliberalism in Latin America shows that it's a socially regressive model than is destructive and does not stand over time. Argentina's best pupil of IMF is a good case in point. May be the same The same failed neoliberal policies applied here in the US don't do not go unnoticed by our apathic and quasi-alienated electorate either. There is a lot of anxiety about "outsourcing", unemployment and a jobless recovery right now, which may result in a backlash of current policy. May be, just may be neoliberalism does not go unpunished here either. Sure, may be asking for a leftist government might be a little too much, too soon, but getting rid of Bush might not be a bad outcome altogether.

the defenestrator

IRAQ UNDER SIEGE... continued

There is ongoing violence and insecurity. Gas is in short supply - people wait in lines for hours just for small amounts - and incredibly expensive. Many families face hunger, illness and dislocation. Iraqis are routinely shot and killed at demonstrations. Homes are randomly searched, looted and destroyed by US military. Iraqis are often "mistakenly" shot and imprisoned as everyone is suspect. There is concrete evidence that detainees are being tortured and often families have no idea why or where family members are being held, or for how long. Electricity is still not up in many parts of the country, and where it is working it's only for a few hours at a time. Most Iraqis do not have access to clean water as water systems/infrastructure were completely and intentionally destroyed during the Gulf War, further destroyed during last March/April's bombing campaigns, and though the CPA promised to fix or replace (through private companies, which, of course, will charge Iraqis more for their services) structures, they have more "pressing" concerns, like making big bucks for themselves. Because people are forced to drink from dirty, often contaminated, water supplies (mud puddles that have collected rain, or dirty streams that are also used to clean laundry and dishes) a majority, especially small children, of the population suffers from cholera, dysentery, kidney stones, diarrhea, nausea and other bacterial infections. One man reported "The whole area is like this. We have over a million people here (Sadr City), and all of us suffer. Sometimes we have to drink the sewage. Yesterday our water smelled like petrol because there is a station nearby and we all know the benzene leaks into our water." And this is only the short list. Endless promises made to the Iraqi people by the CPA have been broken, leaving the majority of Iraqis feeling justifiably betrayed and angry and frightened.

Suppose I posit to my friend that since our government and military (and thus us by proxy) are directly responsible for much of this suffering and we are therefore morally and ethically obliged to do as much as we humanly can to stop it, and he tells me that he still doesn't care; these people are, after all, not people that he knows or has any direct contact with and he really doesn't see how anything he would do could help them anyway. "Look at all those people who marched against the war," he cites, "What difference did it make? The government's going to do whatever it wants anyway."

Multiply such a perspective by billions, throw in a bunch of racist, right wing pro-war/anti-Arab, Rush Limbaugh types, the rich, who actually seem to relish such suffering (show me a rich person and I'll show you the history of exploitation behind his or her wealth), and you pretty much get a picture of where we are now, with too few actively involved in demanding an end to the occupation.

"All right," I say, "so you're obviously not concerned with the Iraqi people, let's look at the damage being done to the US and its people."

The numbers change every day, but last time I checked there were more than 560 US soldiers dead. Hospital records (soldiers are mainly flown into hospitals in Germany and media people are barred from photographing the wounded) show that approximately 12,000 soldiers have been admitted for treatment (about 10,000 from the War on Iraq and another 2,000 from the now mostly forgotten War on Afghanistan). Just because there are no pictures in the papers of soldiers missing limbs, parts of skulls, etc. etc. doesn't mean it's not happening. Suicides (rates are high) are mostly unreported. Depression, PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder) low morale, as well as varying other psychological disorders are commonplace. "The lot of them are young guys," writes Jamail, "Many don't even look like they need to shave. All of them look around all the time, afraid, as they slowly make their way down the streets, checking all the loose bricks for bombs." The effects of Depleted Uranium and chemical agents used during the Gulf War on both US military personnel and the Iraqi people are well documented as is the psychological damage created by the killing of others (often innocent civil-

ians) and/or seeing one's comrades killed: Gulf War Syndrome, increased rates of cancer, birth defects, etc. Close to 200,000 veterans of the Gulf War are on permanent disability and over 10,000 are dead. It is likely that soldiers returning from this war and occupation will suffer similarly. Pawns of the rich, shouldn't my friend and others like him at the very least care about young men and women being used this way? "For God and Country..." I don't think so, more likely for Bechtel and Halliburton.

Richard Clarke, former CIA top dog, who just published a book accusing the Bush administration of extreme negligence in preventing September 11th, stated during hearings last week that the unnecessary War on Iraq is a setback to anti-terrorism efforts and will increase terrorism, making people in the US less, not more, safe. "We will export death and violence to the four-corners of the earth in defense of our great nation," Bush swore; how this could later be translated into promoting democracy and liberation once again defies logic. Middle East experts who wrote of the tinderbox effect a War on Iraq would create there, were largely ignored. According to the Bush Doctrine the US (the largest purveyor of state-sanctioned terrorism in the world), allies itself with Christ and goes to war to rid the world of evil. At what cost? Humanly? Economically? Environmentally? One Iraqi man, pointing to his nephew Halaf, told Jamail: "The Americans are creating the terrorists here by hurting people and causing their relatives to fight against them. Even this little boy will grow up hating the Americans because of their policy."

"So you are not concerned about all the tax-dollars (that have caused massive cuts in social spending/programs, education, etc. etc. stateside) going to fund the war and profit machine, about the suffering of the Iraqi people, about the damage caused by and done to US soldiers, what about the self-interest of your own safety," I ask my friend. "Do you really feel safe, think the world is safer, now?"

"Terrorism as a phenomenon may never go away," wrote Indian author and activist Arundhati Roy in "The Algebra of Infinite Justice." But if it is to be contained, the first step is for America to at least acknowledge that it shares the planet with other human beings who, even if they are not on TV, have loves and griefs and stories and songs and, for heaven's sake, rights. Instead, when Donald Rumsfeld, the US defense secretary, was asked what he would call a victory in America's new war, he said that if he could convince the world that Americans must be allowed to continue with their way of life, he would consider it a victory."

Whose victory? Who, besides the rich, are winning anything really?

Our country brought an unjust war against the Iraqi people and this war, in all its ugliness, continues under the Occupation. Whose responsibility, if not ours, is it to get them the hell out of the country thus preventing further devastation? We must create a culture of "dangerous unselfishness" to confront this horror and indignity if we are to have any dignity for ourselves. So what can be done? How to get involved? Education is key. There are plenty of ways to get better information other than what's offered in mainstream media: www.thenewstandardnews.net, www.electroniciraq.net, www.informationclearinghouse.net, www.juancole.com, www.defenestrator.org (will hook you up to more specific Philly anti-war activism), www.unitedforpeace.org, www.afsc.org/iraq/relief/default.shtm, www.vvaw.org, www.uslaw.org, www.warresistersleague.org. What steps you take are, of course, up to you, but do something - lives depend on it.

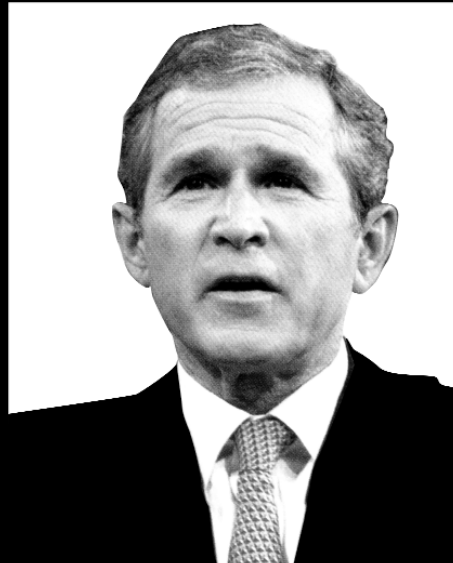
Addendum: It's April 9th and the situation in Iraq has drastically worsened. Just in this past week, according to body counts, over 50 U.S. troops were killed and many more wounded. A mosque was bombed yester-

day and Fallujah is under attack, with huge civilian losses there and elsewhere. If you go to the Al-Jazeera news website, you'll find photos that are not being printed in U.S. papers of civilian casualties.

"To come to terms, one must understand what fear means: what it implies and what it rejects. It implies and rejects the same fact: a world where murder is legitimate, and where human life is considered trifling. This is the great political question of our times, and before dealing with other issues, one must take a position on it. Before anything can be done, two questions must be put: 'Do you or do you not, directly or indirectly, want to be killed or assaulted?' Do you or do you not, directly or indirectly, want to kill or assault?' All who say No to both these questions are automatically committed to a series of consequences which must modify their way of posing the problem." Albert Camus

*The A-Space, located at 4722 Baltimore Ave, is an anarchist community center. The Philadelphia Anti-War Forum meets there twice a month to plan educational forums against the war and occupation in Iraq and around the world. See defenestrator calendar/website for more info. All are welcome and encouraged to join us.

INTERNATIONAL



TERRORIST

THIS T-SHIRT AVAILABLE IN
SIZES SMALL TO XXL,
ON BLACK AND WHITE!

along with dozens
of other designs
(EZLN, feminist, queer,
anarchist, anti-police...)
and hundreds of buttons,
pamphlets, books and more!

www.kersplebedeb.com

Kersplebedeb, CP 63560, CCCP Van Horne, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, H3W 3H8



Labor News Round-Up

By Memike

Made in "America"

Levi-Strauss, that all-American brand, has announced the closure of its remaining factories in the US and Canada. Almost 2,000 jobs will be lost as the company transfers its manufacturing operations offshore.

In Costa Rica, Levi workers earn in a day what their US counterparts earn in an hour. Levis claim that it is committed to ensuring that individuals making its products anywhere in the world do so in safe and healthy working conditions and are treated with dignity and respect is a marked contrast to CEO and President, Philip Marinicus surprisingly candid acknowledgement that the apparel industry is chasing low-cost labor.

It is such low-cost labor that led to immigrant workers in Saipans garment industry to file a lawsuit in 1999 alleging that they were falsely lured to the US territory by promises of high pay. On arrival, they were forced to endure the countries minimum wage of \$3.05, donate time after their shift was over and live with the threat of being fired and deported.

As a US Commonwealth, Saipan is exempt from American labor, immigration and customs laws, thus allowing clothing to be stamped with Made in the USA tags and avoiding the complex system of quotas that limits US imports from foreign nations. Twenty-six companies agreed to a settlement involving the establishment of an independent monitoring system to prevent future abuses and the creation of a \$20 million fund to pay for back wages. The twenty-seventh company, Levis, is still refusing.

Food Industry Workers Don't Make Enough to Eat

Big brand companies in the fresh produce industry are driving down employment conditions for millions of farm workers in the U.S., according to a new study by international development agency Oxfam America.

The report is part of Oxfam's Make Trade Fair campaign, which today brought together human rights leaders, farm workers and others in Immokalee, Florida to call on corporations, the government and consumers to act.

Around the globe and across different industries, brand name buyers are undermining labor standards by squeezing their supply chain to provide cheaper products and stricter standards. Producers, in turn, must substantially reduce their labor costs or be forced out of business. Instead of receiving a fair share in the advantages of increased global trade, workers are paying the price by working harder usually for less money under more hazardous conditions.

"In the United States, farm workers are systematically excluded from basic core labor rights which other American workers enjoy: the right to organize, rights to overtime pay, as well as labor rights protecting children." Sa'id former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Mary Robinson. "This is discrimination and it must be corrected."

"It is unacceptable that huge profits are being made off the back of the hardest working and lowest paid workers in the world. It is unconscionable for that to be happening right here in the United States," said Oxfam America President Raymond C. Offenheiser.

In the U.S., nearly two million farm workers, mainly immigrants, toil without rights, earn sub-living wages and exist in dehumanizing conditions. The piece rate paid to tomato pickers in Florida, for example, has dropped by 65 percent over the past twenty-five years. In the fields of Florida, California, North Carolina and other states, one million farm workers earn less than \$7,500 per year.

Farm workers are excluded from most federal labor law protections, including the right to organize and bargain collectively. As a result, poor sanitation, sub-poverty wages, no overtime pay, no health benefits, insufficient water, and violence and abuse of workers are frequently part of farm workers' daily reality.

Examining the lucrative food industries, the report finds that companies are using their dominant market position to drive cost and risk down their supply chains. Companies such as Yum Brands, the largest fast food company in the world and owns Taco Bell, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Pizza Hut and other chains, must change the way they work with producers and in negotiating deliveries and prices, Oxfam says. The big institutional buyers are the ones with the power and the profits to ensure that workers get a fair share.

Corporations tell India to buy more soap The World Bank's Water and Sanitation Program estimated that in India, a quarter of people in urban areas and three quarters of the people in rural areas do not use soap every day. The immediate corporate response was two international aid projects in as many years, telling them to use soap.

First came the Kerala Health in Your Hands project, launched by Hindustan Lever Limited, subsidiary of multinational giant Unilever (the world's largest soaps and detergents company), along with the World Bank, the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (LSHTM), and the Kerala Government.

The whole idea was more about selling soap than improving sanitation, and the blatant soap marketing led to angry protests until the Kerala Government opted out of the project. Then came the WASH project, launched in

summer 2003 another public private partnership which is more about corporations selling soap than actually improving sanitation conditions.

Kerala is a role model, not an ailing test ground. It is simply a ploy by the multinational soap companies to market their products and snuff out competition from local soap companies. There are already several Indian soap manufacturers competing for the same market, including small scale and cottage industries, soap production schemes initiated by women's micro-credit groups and village-level home industries.

The real reason for the sanitation gap is basic inequality. One flush of the toilet uses more water than an average person in the developing world uses for the whole days washing, cleaning, cooking and drinking.

McDonald's in France

McDonalds employees in Paris have been on strike for 6 months and counting. Not only are they on strike, they're also occupying the restaurant 24/7, shutting it down and turning it into a giant banner for their cause. Check out: <<http://advalloreminternational.com/videos/mcdo.html>>

India's Supreme Court Rules Strikes are "Illegal"

One of the biggest strikes in world history took place at the end of February in India, but the U.S. media chose to ignore it! Briefly, India's supreme court had ruled that it was illegal for government workers to strike, so in order to protest the ruling and pressure the government: the workers--went on strike!

Millions of Indian workers walked off the job to protest a Supreme Court decision banning strikes by government employees.

Air, train and bus services were disrupted in Calcutta, and all financial institutions, including insurance companies, were closed in Bombay. State-run banks in New Delhi were shut down, and government-run institutions in Bangalore, India's information technology hub, were also affected.

"We have a right to strike," shouted about 1,500 bank workers as they marched in Bombay, waving red banners associated with communist-led unions.

Tapan Sen, leader of the Center of Indian Trade Unions, estimated about 40 million workers took part and said many were from the unorganized sector.

India's highest court ruled in August that government employees cannot strike and those who do can be fired. Walkouts by state workers inconvenience citizens and hurt the economy, the Supreme Court said, and disputes should be resolved in the courts.

March Against Berlusconi

This March, for the fourth time in two years, millions of workers across Italy observed a general strike to protest against the economic policies of Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi's right-wing government.

Industries across the country came to a standstill as columns of demonstrators wound through the centres of Rome, Turin, Milan and other main cities. The strike was "a response to the government to say they've got it wrong, about everything," Guglielmo Epifani, the leader of Italy's biggest union, the CGIL, told demonstrators in the Sicilian capital Palermo.

Workers in most industries observed a four-hour strike, but schools, banks and post offices closed for the entire day.

Road and rail transport in urban areas shut down from 0800 GMT (9:00 am), though unions pledged to maintain a skeleton service until full service resumed in the afternoon.

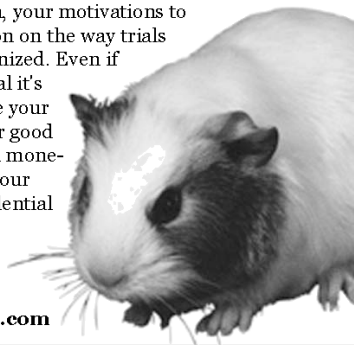
Friday's strike was the fourth general work stoppage since April 2002, when unions united to call the first general strike in Italy for two decades.

ARE YOU A RADICAL GUINEA PIG?

An activist participating in clinical trials? If so, I'd like to talk to you. I am interested in knowing your experiences of the clinical trials you've been in, your motivations to engage, and your opinion on the way trials are conducted and organized. Even if you've done just one trial it's important to me to have your participation. I can offer good quality beer and a small monetary compensation for your participation in a confidential survey.

If interested contact me at:

rabadie68us@yahoo.com



Anarchism's Promise... continued

Because globalization makes anarchism's aspirations increasingly apropos. Far from being anti-globalization per se, anarchists have long dreamed of the world without borders made potentially feasible by the transformations now underway. Indeed, the means utilized by globalization are quite amenable to anarchist values, such as decentralization and integration, elastic identities and the shattering of binaries, creative borrowings and cooperation, mobility, hybridity, and openness. Most strikingly, globalization is structurally undermining of the centrality of states.

In his day, Karl Marx foresaw the rising hegemony of capitalism and its cancerous ability to (re)structure all social relations in its own contorted image. Yet for Marx, this also hailed a certain promise. Freedom and domination were both bound up in the developmental logic that was and unfortunately still is capitalism. It was up to the right social actors, given the right conditions, to "make history," that is, to make revolution and achieve communism in its best, most general sense. Much of what Marx unmasked holds true to the present; much more has become evident, sadly so, to the point where there is almost no outside anymore to the capitalism that manufactures society as well as self. The heroic project of Marx and multiple socialistic others to abolish capitalism remains more poignant than ever, as does the need for a revolutionary movement to do so. Hence, the power of "anti-capitalism."

Anarchism has traditionally foreseen another potentially hegemonic development that Marx ignored: statecraft. But unlike capitalism, it took statism many more decades to gain the same naturalistic status as the market economy, and so anarchism's critique, while correct, held less of an imperative for most radicals. In an ironic twist for statist and anarchists alike, just as U.S.-style representative democracy has finally achieved hegemony as the singular "legitimate" form of governance, globalization has begun its work of lessening the power of states. Thinking outside the statist box now both makes sense and is fast becoming a reality, offering anarchism the relevance it has long desired. The relatively widespread embracement in and outside anti-authoritarian Left circles of anarchist experiments in directly democratic organization, confederation, and mutual aid evidences how fitting such forms are to today's decreasingly statist, increasingly interdependent world. They tentatively prefigure, in fact, the self-governance institutions that anarchism envisions under a humane version of the present social transformation.

In this globalizing world, though, "nonstatist" can mean everything from supranational institutions governed by business elites and international NGOs to world courts and regional trade zones to networks of free-floating individuals willing to employ terror tactics. On the one hand, then, as state-based geopolitics loses ground to a more diffuse though cruel nonstatist one, anarchism's critique could quickly become irrelevant. On the other hand, just as marxism had to be rethought in the mid-twentieth century in light of state socialism's failure to achieve human emancipation—resulting, for one, in the Frankfurt school's uncovering of new forms of domination—anarchism must be retheorized in response to the turn toward nonstatism that bodes both scary reconfigurations of political monopolies as well as possible openings for an ethical alternative. The practice of today's anarchism has, in essence, skipped ahead of its philosophy and social critique. Both need to catch up if an anti-authoritarian politics is to become more than a historical footnote about a missed moment.

Still, as the only political tradition that has consistently grappled with the tension between the individual and society, contemporary anarchism has valiantly tried to meld the universalistic aims of the Left and its expansive understanding of freedom with the particularistic goals of the new social movements in areas such as gender, sexuality, ethnicity, and ableism. The extraordinary human mix that appeared on the streets of Seattle could find "unity in diversity" precisely because anarchists attempted to put this theoretical merger into practice. The affinity group/spokescouncil model, for instance, allowed hundreds of disparate concerns to also

find an intimate connectivity. Globalization has facilitated this by making the world smaller every day, bringing the macro and micro into closer contact. Under capitalism, homogeneity and heterogeneity will always be linked at the expensive of both the community and self. The substantive inclusiveness tenuously achieved by anarchistic organizing suggests a structural framework that could serve first as a revolutionary dual power, then later as the basis for "a world where many worlds fit," as the Zapatistas demand. Hence, the power of "anarchism" for anti-capitalist resistance.

We may not win this time around; everything from the rise of a politicized fundamentalism and the post-September 11 "war on terrorism" to seemingly insolvable tragedies like the Middle East indicate the gravity and near impossibility of our task. Everyone from global policing agencies to the authoritarian Left will try to thwart our efforts. But the project of the present anti-capitalist movement, and anarchism's strong suit in general, is to provide a guiding light, even if we aren't the ones to finally bask in it.

In 1919, anarchists held power in Munich for one week during the course of the German Revolution and hurriedly initiated all sorts of imaginative projects to empower society at large. Yet Gustav Landauer knew that the best they could do was to construct a model for future generations: "Though it is possible that our lives may be short, I have the desire, and this you share with me, that we leave behind lasting effects . . . so that we may hope, when authoritarian-

ism returns, perspicuous circles will say that we did not make a bad beginning, and that it would not have been a bad thing if we had been permitted to continue our work." Landauer was trampled to death in a wave of right-wing reaction soon after, and fourteen years later the Nazis came to power. Still, the grand experiments of the past aimed at a free and self-governing society have not been extinguished—they have reemerged in the anarchistic strains charted here and, most promisingly, the current contest against capitalism fought along anti-authoritarian lines.

Not a bad beginning to the twenty-first century.

This essay is from the book Anti-Capitalism: A Field Guide to the Global Justice Movement, ed. Rachel Neumann and Andy Hsiao (New York: New Press, spring 2003).

Firehouse Bicycles
50th and Baltimore 2nd Floor
Tuesday - Saturday 10am - 6pm 215.727.9692

We'll help you get away!

The MARVELOUS!
records // comics // books

BRING IN THIS AD AND GET \$2 OFF \$20 PURCHASE!

208 S. 40TH ST. // 215.386.6110
records.comics.cds.books // new & used.bought & sold

FLAT BROKE continued

cle, poor people in America are essentially beaten into submitting to the demands of the market, while simultaneously being the brunt of America's anger towards the "terrorists" or lazy "Welfare Queens" (a term coined by Ronald Reagan and long discredited by any self-respecting academic but still a powerful stereotype for public policy). What I find both hard and easy to accept is that a stronger state is the answer. Hard, because as the state stands now there is no way any legitimate reform will ever come to surface. Take Bush's "compassionate" immigration plan, which allows people to take cheap paying

jobs with no benefits "legally," but only for a three year time period. Under this plan these laborers would now be "documented," making them far easier to kick out and replace with a fresh batch of desperate workers who in advance know that they will never have access to the "American dream."

Yet at the same time it is clear that besides universalizing state programs for the poor and labor regulations, things can only get worse. The question is, what will be the catalyst for this change? Neither Hays nor Schipler really delve into how an organized strike of the expendable labor force could cripple the econ-

omy badly enough to force some change, but this [idealistic] notion certainly skirts the outer-bounds of their arguments. In discussing "Regulating the Poor," one of the seminal works written about welfare in this country (and an openly Marxist critique of the system), Hays writes:

On the one hand, benefits for the poor operate to protect against civil disorder by placating the disadvantaged. On the other hand, policy makers often want to push the poor into the labor market in order to provide employers with a disciplined and hungry labor force. According to this logic, it makes perfect sense that welfare reform was instituted during an

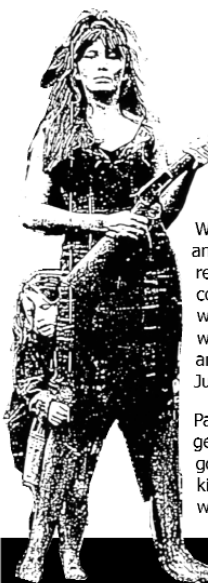
upswing in the economy. But when fewer jobs are available and aid to the poor remains limited, [the authors] Piven and Cloward would predict that the nation will experience rising levels of civil disobedience--just as the Sunbelt City caseworkers had expected on the New Year's Eve of the first time limits.

In recent times there has not been little if any mass resistance to the domestic policies implemented by the government by those most effected. But as Hays points out in the paragraph above, civil unrest can drastically impact the labor market, if not only to end up with a more sophisticated bureaucratic machine. But without some sort of organized resistance by the "invisible in America," books such as these will find sympathetic ears but will hardly change a broken system.

The Military Strategy of Women and Children

Amazon revolutionary theory for Women's Liberation by Butch Lee

Why should we need Amazons? Women have always killed men. From time way out of mind. Prisons are full of women who stabbed men, shot holes in men's precious bodies, ran men over with cars, poisoned men, beat men to death with some real "heavy metal" as they slept. X-ray through your lying local newspaper, you'll see. Nothing new. So still and again, Amazon isn't a dot.com, it's about killing men and the gender male.



Now, in this exploration, we are moving onto the ground of metapolitics. Wild, vast and more primal than the little, fenced-in suburban plots of what amerikkka calls "politics". From the rape bordellos of the Balkans to the mass murder by AIDS in Afrika, women are being pushed to understand men's society and, most importantly, ourselves, in a different way. The longest Amazon journey begins today. [...]

What produces a system that bases its daily life on doing genocide? The answer is, a commodity civilization that formed itself through centuries of repressing its own "internal colony" of women, killing millions of us. How could sane Afrikans or Indians guess what this strange euro-capitalism would ultimately do? To white men, who were "made" by a social process in which they shared in the torturing and killing of their mothers, wives, sisters and daughters, doing genocide against other peoples was no big deal at all. Just another day at the office. [...]

Patriarchal imperialism is the only so-called civilization that has always used genocide as its primary fuel, its primary harvester. It ain't hard to spread the goodies on the banquet table and invite friends to dinner when you steal and kill the producers. And revolutionary women's culture begins when we leave the table.

There's Fighting in Iraq but the Real Women's War is in Afrika
read the postscript online at <http://www.kersplebedeb.com/afrika.html>

\$10
plus postage

available online
↓ ↓ ↓

Other books by Butch Lee:

Jailbreak out of History - the re-biography of Harriet Tubman
Chapter four of *The Military Strategy of Women and Children*, this is a major biographical study, which refutes the standard "American" version of Harriet Tubman's life. At a time when violence against women of color is at the center of world politics, uncovering the censored story of one Amazon points to answers that have nothing to do with government programs, police, or patriarchal politics.

Night-Vision; Illuminating War and Class on the Neo-Colonial Terrain
"Night-Vision was so compelling to me because it has a spirit of militancy which reformist feminism tries to kill. It has that raw, unmediated truth-telling which I think we are going to need in order to deal with the fascism that's upon us." - bell hooks

ORDER
FROM ONE
OF THESE
DISTRIBUTORS



Kersplebedeb, CP 63560, CCCP Van Horne
Montreal, Quebec, Canada, H3W 3H8
info@kersplebedeb.com

Stoopsale Books, POB 268985
Chicago, IL, USA, 60626
stoopsale@hotmail.com



DOWN BY LAW continued

work around defense of immigrants, specifically those being detained indefinitely. York County Prison houses about 800 ICE detainees right now and is making a lot of money as a result of this repression. Also, revolutionaries need to expand on organizing around the state and its security apparatus. Cops and prison guards are killing and brutalizing more people of color than any of the WP scum ever will. We need to be more proactive in addressing these atrocities that go on every single day.

Anyone you want to shout out to?

T: My sincere Revolutionary Greetings to all those who stepped up and extended solidarity to me over the last couple of months. Also, solidarity to all Political Prisoners/POW's in the US and worldwide!

Tim, thanks for talking with us, and we'll see you on the other side in April!

TIM:: Venceremos!! [Victory!!!]

March 20 continued

But we should be more articulate, by all means.

Despite the encouraging size of the feeder march, our constitution reflected a narrow segment of even the anti-capitalist movement, with an overwhelmingly white turnout in a city in which people of color are both the majority and the ones primarily under the gun of capitalism on many different levels. Our march should be considered what it was, probably more of a celebration of sub-cultural youth. And there's certainly nothing wrong with that. Just let's either call it what it is or work towards a different more articulate and more representative anti-capitalist presence.

These are just a couple items from a long list of self criticisms which has transpired in the last days, criticisms which I feel are important to take to heart and not blow off. We haven't thrown in the towel and as things get steadily worse in Iraq, there's a hell of a lot of political weight as anti-capitalists in the heart of the beast on us. So let's use this new and regenerating momentum to build on and move forward just one step the wiser. After all, this is war!

For more radical literature, and feminist, anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist agit prop: www.kersplebedeb.com

Saturday, April 17, 2-4:30pm
The Current Situation: People's War in Nepal
The Ethical Society, 19th & Walnut
Rittenhouse Square

Saturday, April 17, 10am-noon
The War Economy or Good Jobs, Health Care and Education? 1199C
Union Hall, 1319 Locust St. Info: 215-735-3615 or phillyjwj@mind-spring.com

Sunday, April 18, 5pm
Screening of "Palestine is Still the Issue," followed by Solidarity Meeting. A-Space 4722 Baltimore Ave.

Sunday, April 18, 8:30pm
Fat Activism in the Left, A-Space 4722 Baltimore Ave.
Thursday, April 22, 7:30pm
Class Action Screening of Ken Loach's 2003 film "The Navigators"
A-Space 4722 Baltimore Ave.

April 24-15
Protests Against IMF?World BankMobilization for Global Justice/Festival of Resistance, Washington, D.C. Info: www.global-izethis.org

Sunday, April 25
March for Women's Lives, Washington, D.C. starts at noon.
More info: www.marchforwomenslives.org
Buses leaving for Philly. Planned Parenthood.

Saturday, April 24

Saturday, April 24, 4-10pm
Spiral Q Puppet Theatre's Yearly Open House - Say Bon Voyage to Matty M... Spiral Q Puppet Theatre
3114 Spring Garden St.

Wednesday, April 28, 7:30pm
U.S. Intervention in Haiti, film and speaker Franz Latour, director of the Haitian Community Center, who will give updates on conditions in Haiti.
A-Space 4722 Baltimore Ave.

Saturday, May 1, MAY DAY!!! - 2-6pm
Potluck picnic and May Day dances/speakers
Clark Park, 43rd & Baltimore

Wednesday, May 5, 7pm
Screening "Peace, Propaganda and the Promised Land" I-House, 3701 Chestnut St.
Sponsored by Playground for

Palestine.
Info:
www.playgroundsforpalestine.org

August 25-26
Food Not Bombs Gathering
New York City. Info:
www.fnbnews.org

August 29- September 4
Republican National Convention
Protests
NYC - info: www.counterconvention.org

July 26-July 27
Democratic National Convention
Protests.
Boston, Mass. www.blackteaociety.org



Wooden Shoe Books Anarchist & Radical Books & Periodicals

People's History • Labor • Chomsky
Radical Ecology • Media & Technology
Native Uprisings • Black Liberation
Feminist • Queer • Youth
Armed Struggle • Non-Violence

Collectively Run by Volunteers

508 S. 5th St. • Philadelphia
(215) 413-0999

Open Seven Days www.woodenshoebooks.org

ONGOING EVENTS AND MEETINGS

Food Not Bombs

In a country hungry for war, that bombs countries hungry for food...join Food Not Bombs Every Sunday at 3:00 PM; 20th St. and The Ben. Franklin Parkway For more information: foodnotbombsphilly@yahoo.com

Vigil to Support Israeli Voices of Peace

Every Friday from 12:00 pm - 1:00 pm Israeli Consulate; 15th & Locust Streets Sponsored by Jewish Mobilization for a Just Peace. Email: jmpj_philly@yahoo.com for more info.

Honk for Mumia - small demonstrations to distribute information and show support
2nd and 4th Saturday of every month 2pm at 52nd and Market

SE Chapter PA Abolitionists Monthly Vigil

First Thursday of every month from 12:00 pm - 1:00 pm Outside Governor Rendell's Office 200S. Broad St. Calling for an end to executions in PA. info: waxie55@hotmail.com for more info.

Women's Anti-Violence Education (WAVE)

Monday drop-in classes every Monday night from 6:00 pm - 8:00 pm Friends Center; 1501 Cherry Street Phone: 215-241-5720 for more information
WAVE offers a drop-in, self-defense, class every Monday night. There is a sliding scale fee of \$5-\$20 (pay what you can). Women of any age, size, or physical ability will benefit. Can't make it Monday? call about our full length self-defense courses offered regularly.

Saturday Afternoon **Self-Defense for Women** class taught by women 1-4pm at the Friends Center, 1501 Cherry St., \$60 full fee but pay what you can, no one turned

Philadelphia Social Forum

First Sunday of each month at 3PM Robin.s Book Store, 108 S. 13th Street

Philadelphia Gender Changers Academy

Female to Female Trans Technology
Womens' computer classes on Wednesdays

6:30pm-9pm (\$10-\$25 cost for materials)
info@phillygca.org

Philadelphians United to Support Public Schools

Every Monday from 5:15 pm - 7:45 pm United Way . 1st floor; 21st & Ben Franklin Pkwy. E-mail: jordanpcy@hotmail.com for more info

ACT UP

Weekly Meeting Every Monday from 6:00 pm - 9:00 pm St. Lukes Church; 330 S. 13th St. (between Pine & Spruce) Email: actupphilly@critpath.org for more info.

Neighbors Against McPenetration

Weekly Meeting every Tuesday from 7:00 pm - 9:00 pm Toviah Thrift Shop; Chestnut betw. 42nd & 43rd Phone: 215-382-7251 for more info.

Weekly Meeting of Phila. County Coalition on Prison Health Care

Every Tuesday from 9:30-10:30 a.m. Philadelphia FIGHT office, 1233 Locust St., 2nd floor. For info, contact Laura McTigh: 215-380-5556

Books Through Bars

Packing Café Every Tuesday from 7:30 pm - 9:30 pm The A Space; 4722 Baltimore Ave. E-mail: info@booksthroughbars.org for more info

International Concerned Family & Friends of Mumia

Every Thursday from 7:00 pm - 9:00 pm 4601 Market St., 5th floor Phone: 215-476-5416 for more info.

Philadelphia Anti-War Forum

Meeting Third Sunday of every month from 1:00 pm - 3:00 pm A-Space; 4722 Baltimore Ave. E-mail: clannarchy@prodigy.net

LAVA space - A conspiracy from the fanatics at the defenestrator, the Philly Independent Media Centre, Radio Volta, the derailleurs collective, the Unconvention and others comes this new project: a radical community centre in the pancreas of West Philly. We bought a building, now we need your involvement! info: 215.387.6155 or space@phillyimc.org * defenestrator.org/space

A-Space - a collectively run anarchist gallery and meeting/community space. Events are free and generally start at 7:30pm unless otherwise noted. Accessible by the 34 trolley. Plenty of parking for cars and bikes. They pass the hat to cover rent.
4722 Baltimore Avenue Philadelphia, PA 19143
215.727.0882 a-space@defenestrator.org

WOODEN SHOE BOOKS and RECORDS - Anarchist bookstore owned and run by an unpaid collective of geniuses with

nothing better to do than sit around talking philosophy and riots. Carries a wide range of anarchist and radical books, periodicals, pamphlets, T-shirts, patches, CD's records etc. 508 S. Fifth Street Philadelphia, PA
215.413.0999 woodenshoe@rocketmail.com

Firehouse Bikes - A worker owned collective bike shop. 50th and Baltimore

The Divine Bicycle Church - Bike repair co-op at Neighborhood Bike Works. Tools, advice and recycled parts available. Every Tuesday, Thursday and Sunday from 6:30-9pm
40th and Locust Walk, behind St. Mary's Church

Crossroads Women's Center - open Tuesdays and Thursdays 10am-2pm or by appointment
33 Maplewood Mall, Germantown 215-848-1120

the defenestrator
PO Box 30922
Philadelphia, PA 19104

to: